907

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SERIES

THE STORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS AND THE GREAT EVENTS OF THE CENTURY . . . . .

EDITOR
JUSTIN McCARTHY

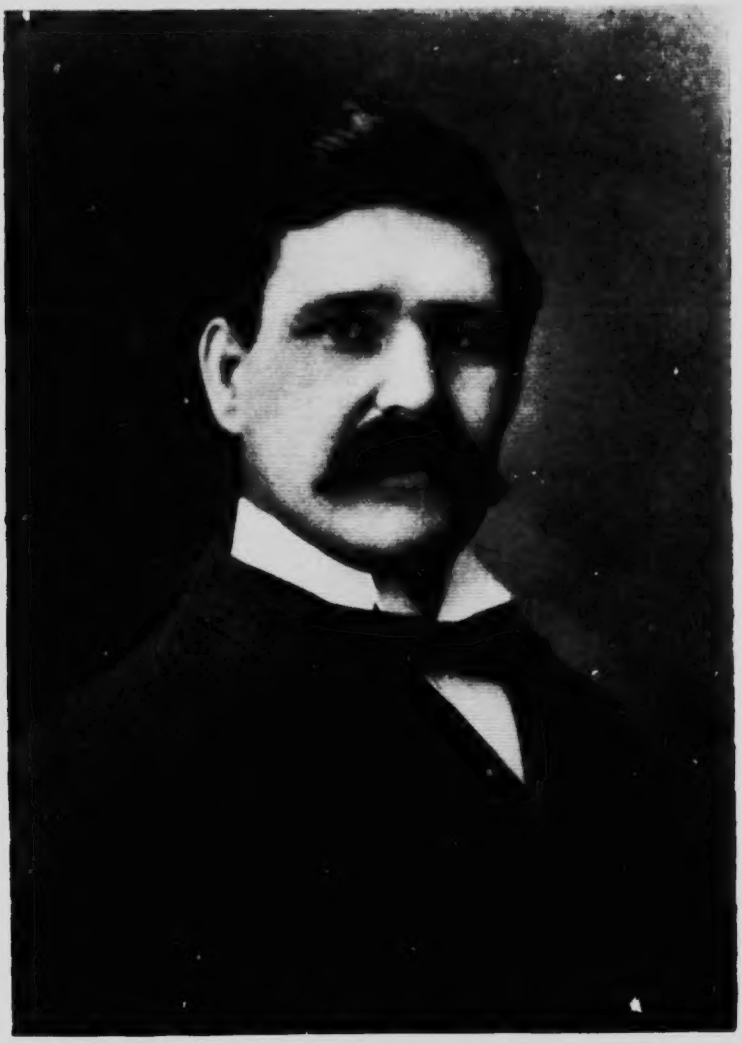
Associate Editors

W. P. TRENT, LL.D. CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS
T. G. MARQUIS W. H. WITHROW, D.D.

TWENTY-SIX VOLUMES

LONDON AND EDINBURGH
W. & R. CHAMBERS, LIMITED

PHILADELPHIA DETROIT TORONTO
THE LINSCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY



T. G. MARQUIS.

1229

PRESIDENTS
OF
THE UNITED STATES
FROM
PIERCE TO McKINLEY

BY
T. G. MARQUIS
Author of "Stories of New France," "Marguerite de Roberval," "Life of Earl Roberts," Etc.

LONDON, TORONTO, PHILADELPHIA
THE LINSCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1903

E176
1
M36
C. 2

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Three, by the Bradley-Garretson Co., Limited, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

Entered, according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Three, by the Bradley-Garretson Co,. Limited, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture.

All Rights Reserved.

PREFACE.

In attempting to write the story of the lives of the presidents of the latter half of the nineteenth century, several difficulties have to be faced. In the first place it is almost impossible to get trustworthy material. The lives of these great public men have been written by friends, often for party purposes, when their faults have been concealed and their mistakes made to appear as fine qualities. Time, the greatest of all critics, has not yet had the opportunity of sifting the wheat from the chaff in their lives.

It has been my aim in this book as far as possible to let the presidents speak for themselves. Where I could I have quoted freely from their letters and speeches, and from the utterances of their immediate friends. In each case considerable space has been given to the early life of the subject under discussion. It must be an inspiration to a nation such as the United States, as it considers the men it has raised to sit in authority at Washington to guide its destinies, to know that the majority of these men have risen from the very humblest origin. It only needs the study of the lives of the presidents to see that the child of the most obscure citizen of the

Union has a chance of reaching the most exalted office in the gift of his country.

It is fitting at the beginning of the new century to take stock of the one that has just passed away, and there is no better way in which a country can sum up its achievements than by closely following the lives of its kings, or emperors, or presidents.

In this volume the incidents of the private lives of the Presidents of the United States and their public acts have been mainly dealt with. There has been no attempt at an exhaustive discussion of any of the great questions that mark the progress of the United States in the century,—that work will be found ably done in Volume V. of this series. Again only the points in the great Civil war and the Spanish-American war absolutely necessary for bringing out the character of the president concerned are dealt with. The task of describing these momentous struggles has been left to the brilliant pen of Mr. Oscar Browning, Professor of History in Cambridge University, who has contributed Volume XVII., *Wars in the Nineteenth Century,* to this series.

T. G. Marquis.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

PAGE

Carlyle and Green True Historians.—To Know History Necessary to Know the Makers of History.—Two Great Periods in the History of United States.—First Great Period Closes with Defeat of Whig Party.—The Rise of the Republican Party.—Marvellous Progress of United States in Last Fifty Years.—The Importance of the Presidents in This Progress.—Civil War a Clearing of Political Air.—Great Periods of National Growth Ushered in by War.—Problems of American History Interwoven with the Lives of the Presidents.—Franklin Pierce an Example of This.—Abraham Lincoln Representative of Spirit of the North.—Democracy Embodied in Grover Cleveland.—President McKinley Characteristic of the Nation at Close of Century.—The Marvels Wrought by Machinery.—The Age in the Light of its Great Men.... 1

CHAPTER II.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE.

(One Administration, 1853-1857.)

Strong Men in the United States at Middle of Century.—Civil Strife in the Distance.—An Able and Large-Hearted President Needed.—Franklin Pierce a Man of Integrity and Noble Character.—His Father a Veteran

PAGE

of the Revolutionary War.—Settles on New Hampshire Grants.—His Son Franklin, Born November 22, 1804.—Father Prominent in New Hampshire.—Sent to the Legislature.—Appointed Sheriff of the County.—A Brigadier-General of the New Hampshire Militia.—Franklin at School and at College.—Not a Diligent Student.—His Companions Longfellow and Hawthorne.—Teaches School.—Captain of a Military Company at Bowdoin College.—Begins the Study of Law.—Fails in His First Case.—A Successful Stump Orator.—Elected to the New Hampshire Legislature.—Speaker of the House.—Elected to Congress at the Age of Twenty-Nine.—A Strong Supporter of President Jackson.—Speaks Against the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.—Opposed to Military Academy at West Point.—Described by His Fellow-Senator, James Buchanan.—Dreaded the Influence of the Extreme Abolitionists.—His Strange Attitude on the Right of Petition.—Leaves Washington on Account of His Wife's Health.—Still Interested in Politics.—The Mexican War.—Franklin Pierce Enlists as a Private.—Given a Colonel's Commission.—At the Seat of War.—Wounded in Battle.—General Grant's Opinion of Him as a Soldier.—Believes Himself Fighting in a Just Cause.—Honored by New Hampshire on Return from Mexico.—His Name Mentioned for President.—The Democratic Convention at Baltimore, June 1, 1852.—Chosen by the Convention for President.—Frederick Bancroft's Reasons for This Choice.—Scott Selected by the Whig Party.—Passing of Daniel Webster.—Elected President.—James Buchanan's Eulogy of Franklin Pierce..... 9

CHAPTER III.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE (CONCLUDED).

Franklin Pierce Makes Preparations to Go to Washington.—The Tragic Death of his Son.—His Inauguration.—Opposes the Abolitionists.—A Consistent President.

PAGE

—Appoints his Cabinet.—His Sympathies Decidedly with the South.—Stephen A. Douglas on the Scene.—Introduces the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—The President Signs this Bill.—The Struggle in Kansas.—Pro-Slavery Leaders Look on Pierce as Their Friend.—Stephen A. Douglas Speaks on the Kansas Situation.—Mr. Crampton and the United States.—The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in Evidence.—War Threatening with Britain.—Trouble with Spain over Cuba.—The Ostend Letter.—A Reciprocity Treaty with Canada Signed.—Franklin Pierce Takes his Stand in all Matters on the Constitution.—Democratic Convention meets at Cincinnati, June, 1856.—Buchanan Declared the Nominee of the Democrats.—Pierce Retires to his Concord Home.—When Secession Begins Stands with the Union and the North.—His Death, October 8, 1869..... 32

CHAPTER IV.

PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN.

(One Administration 1857-1861.)

President Buchanan in many Ways Like President Pierce.—Of Scotch-Irish Descent.—His Account of his Parents and their Life in America.—Given a Good Education.—Graduates from Dickinson College in 1809.—Enters on the Study of Law.—A Pronounced Federalist.—Opposed to the War of 1812.—Serves in the Ranks in 1814.—Elected to the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania.—A Romance Clouds his Life.—Elected to Congress.—Succeeds John Randolph as Minister to Russia.—On his Return Elected by State Legislature to Senate—A Strong Supporter of President Jackson.—Considers the Abolitionists "Desperate Fanatics."—On Election of President Taylor Retires to "Wheatlands."—In 1853 Appointed Minister to England by President Pierce.—Discussion as to How an American Minister should Appear at Court.—Proves himself an Able Minister.—An Enthusiastic Welcome on His Return to America... 48

CHAPTER V.

PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN (CONCLUDED).

PAGE

The National Democratic Convention Meets in Cincinnati in 1856.—Buchanan, Pierce, Douglas and Cass in the Field for President.—Buchanan Nominee of the Party.—Millard Fillmore Nominee of the Whig Party.—John C. Frémont Nominee of the People's Party.—Buchanan Elected President.—Platform of the Democratic Party.—President Buchanan's Inaugural Address.—Indignation Growing against Slavery.—Buchanan Selects his Cabinet.—The Dred Scott Case.—Buchanan Recognizes "Mob-elected" Legislature of Kansas.—The New Haven Memorial.—President Buchanan Replies to Memorial.—Takes His Stand on the Letter of the Constitution.—Proves Himself Able in International Affairs.—Buchanan Denies England's Right to Search American Vessels Supposed to be Slavers.—Handles all other Foreign Questions with Ability.—Unable to Check Corruption in Public Affairs.—The Covode Committee.—The Storm-Cloud Growing Blacker in Kansas.—Abraham Lincoln on the Scene.—The North Rallies about Him.—The Pro-Slavery Party Divided.—The Southern States Threaten Secession.—Buchanan a Weakling at this Crisis.—His Whole Prejudices with the South.—Plays into the Hands of His Southern Friends.—The Rebel Flag Floating over Charleston.—Confederate Government meets under Presidency of Jefferson Davis.—President Buchanan Gladly lays down Office.—Contrasted with Abraham Lincoln.—Death of Buchanan June 1, 1868..... 61

CHAPTER VI.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(Two Administrations 1861-1865, 1865-)

A Strong Man Needed to Grapple with Slavery.—Abraham Lincoln One of the World's Truly Great Men.—Of Virginian Stock.—His Ancestors Settle In Kentucky.—

PAGE

His Father Marries Nancy Hanks.—The Family Move to Indiana.—Rude Life in the Wilderness.—The Death of Nancy Hanks. His Father Marries Sarah Bush.—Lincoln's Early Education.—The Bare-Foot Lad at Work in the Fields.—The Yearnings of an Ambitious Heart.—The Lincoln Family Move to Illinois.—A Trip to New Orleans.—Horrified by Slavery.—River-Pilot and Business-Manager.—In the Black Hawk War.—A Pronounced Whig.—His Odd Appearance on the Political Platform.—Conducts a General Store.—Begins the Study of Law.—Elected to the Legislature.—In Love with Anne Rutledge.—Her Death and Lincoln's Melancholy.—"A Man with a heart Full of Kindness and a Head Full of Sense." 79

CHAPTER VII.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (CONTINUED).

Lincoln's First Session in the Legislature.—Recognized as an Able "Log-Roller."—Re-Elected to the Legislature.—The Ambitious Schemes of the "Long Nine."—The Seat of Government Moved from Vandalia to Springfield.—Lincoln's Resolution on the Slavery Question.—Licensed to Practise Law.—Stephen A. Douglas Becomes Lincoln's Great Rival.—Lincoln Dislikes the Drudgery of Law.—Nominated for Speaker in the Legislature.—An Elector on the Harrison Ticket for President.—Mary Todd Enters Lincoln's Life.—Married to Mary Todd.—Elected to Congress.—His Speech on Behalf of General Taylor.—"Lone Star of Illinois."—The *Boston Advertiser's* Estimation of Lincoln.—Beginning to See Need of Grappling with Slavery Question.—Offered the Governorship of the Territory of Oregon.—His Speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill against D[illegible]las.—His Challenge to Douglas.—Kills Douglas's C[illegible]es for the Presidency.—Extract from his Speech a[illegible]reeport.—Recognized as one of the Great Anti-Slavery Leaders.—Brilliant Speeches in the New England States. 92

CHAPTER VIII.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (CONTINUED).

PAGE

The Republican Convention of 1860.—"Honest Old Abe" Nominated on the Third Ballot.—Northern Democrats Nominate Stephen A. Douglas, the Southern John C. Breckinridge.—John Bell Nominated by Constitutional Union Party.—Lincoln Elected President.—The Southern States Secede.—Lincoln Tormented by Office Seekers.—His Farewell to his Springfield Friends.—A Plot to Assassinate Him at Baltimore.—The Inauguration Ceremonies.—His Inaugural Address.—Seward and Lincoln.—Lincoln Forms his Cabinet.—Fort Sumter Threatened.—Lincoln Calls for 75,000 men.—Relative Strength of the North and South.—Stephen A. Douglas Stands by the Union.—Opening Months of the War.—Disastrous Battle of Bull Run.—General George B. McClellan in Command.—Grant, "a Sledge Hammer of War," Gains Victories on the Mississippi.—The Seizing of Mason and Slidell almost Precipitates War with England.—France takes Advantage of War to Assert Herself in Mexico.—Lincoln's Admiration for Grant.—The Struggle at Sea between North and South.—Lincoln's Paramount Desire to Save the Union.—Makes Enemies among the Abolitionists.—Preliminary Proclamation Freeing the Slaves.—Louis Napoleon's offer to Mediate between North and South Refused by Lincoln.—Lincoln's Famous Gettysburg Speech.—Grant's Continued Successes.—Appointed General-in-Chief..... 107

CHAPTER IX.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (CONCLUDED).

The Battles in "the Wilderness."—Lincoln Renominated by the Republicans for President.—His Opponent General George B. McClellan.—Lincoln Re-elected President.—The South Begins to Weaken.—Efforts to Bring About Peace.—The Conference at Hampton

PAGE

Roads.—Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.—The War Nearing its End.—Lee Surrenders at Appomattox Court House.—Lincoln's Last Great Speech.—The Cost of the War.—Lee's Farewell to his Army.—The Character of Lee.—A Plot to Assassinate the Republican Leaders.—The Attempt on Seward's Life.—The Assassination of Lincoln in Ford's Theatre.—A Cruel Blow to the South.—The North Stricken with Grief.—Walt Whitman's Tribute to the Great Statesman.—Beecher's Noble Words.—Lincoln's Place in the Hearts of the American People..... 129

CHAPTER X.

PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

(One Administration 1865-1869.)

Andrew Johnson Raised to the Presidency.—Like Lincoln of Poor Parentage.—His Illiterate Earlier Years.—A Tailor by Trade.—Self-Educated.—Marries Eliza McCardle.—Takes an Active Interest in Politics.—Elected to the State Legislature.—A Presidential Elector on the Democratic Ticket.—Sent to the State Senate.—Elected to Congress.—An Advocate of the Annexation of Texas.—Governor of Tennessee.—Elected to the United States Senate.—A Southerner, but Opposed to the South on Slavery Question.—Speaks for the Union.—Wins the Hatred of the South.—His Property Destroyed by His Enemies.—Appointed Military Governor of Tennessee.—His Able Administration Wins Admiration of Lincoln.—Nominated for the Vice-Presidency in 1864.—Speaks with Energy against the Secessionists.—Sworn in as President.—His Inaugural Address.—The Work of Reconstructing the South Begins—Office of President too Much for Johnson.—Struggle between Congress and the President.—The Tenure of Office Bill.—Suspends Secretary of War Stanton.—"Swinging Round the Circle."—Effort to Impeach him in Congress.—His Undignified Speeches against Congress.—Narrowly escapes Impeach-

PAGE

ment.—Loses the Respect of the Nation.—His Death July 30, 1875..... 149

CHAPTER XI.

PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT.

(Two Administrations, 1869–1873, 1877.)

Grant One of the Greatest Soldiers in History.—His Family among the Oldest in America.—Of Puritan Ancestry.—Mathew Grant Arrives at Boston on the "Mary and John."—General Grant in Many Ways like Cromwell.—His Grandfather a Veteran of the Revolution.—His Father, Jesse Grant, Born in Pennsylvania.—Jesse Grant moves to Ohio.—Hiram Ulysses Grant born at Point Pleasant.—How he Became Known as Ulysses S. Grant.—His Early Education.—A Boy Accustomed to Toil.—Appointed a Cadet at West Point.—His Letters Home.—A Careless Student.—An Expert Horseman.—His Course Far from a Brilliant One.—A Lieutenant in the 4th United States Infantry.—A Man whom but Few would Suspect of Possible Greatness..... 177

CHAPTER XII.

PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT (CONTINUED).

Stationed at Jefferson Barracks.—Applies for a Teachership in Mathematics at West Point.—In Love with Julia Dent.—War Threatening with Mexico.—Conflict between Taylor's "Army of Occupation" and the Mexicans.—Grant's Regiment sent to Texas.—Lieutenant Grant does Gallant Service.—A Daring Ride.—Not in Sympathy with Mexican War.—Married on His Return from War.—Stationed at Detroit, at Sackett's Harbor, and on the Pacific Coast.—Leaves the Army in Disgust.—Settles on a Small and Poor Farm near St. Louis.—A Struggle for Existence.—A Clerk in Galena.—The Civil War Rouses his Military Ardor.—Given Command of a Regiment.—Proves himself a Fine Organizer.—Raised

PAGE

to the Rank of Brigadier-General.—His First Military Success at Paducah.—His Narrow Escape at Belmont.—Captures Fort Henry.—Lays Siege to Fort Donelson.—Captures Fort after Brilliant Fighting.—His Victories Electrify the North.—Grant Under a Cloud.—The Confederates Hope to Crush Grant's Army.—The Battle of Shiloh.—Grant's Description of the Field of Battle.—Shiloh a Magnificent Victory for the North.—General Halleck's Incomprehensible Treatment of Grant.—The Delay before Corinth.—Grant Requests Leave of Absence.—Induced by Sherman to Remain on the Scene of Conflict.—Military Administrator at Memphis.—Wins a Victory over the Confederates at Corinth.—Plans to Capture Vicksburg.—A Protracted Siege.—The Surrender of Vicksburg.—His Plans once more Thwarted by Halleck.—Severely Injured at New Orleans.—Ordered to Report at Cairo.—Wins a Great Victory at Chattanooga.—His Congratulations to his Soldiers.—Honoured for his Victory.—Grant Raised to the Rank of Lieutenant-General.—Appointed to the Command of all the Union Armies.—Faces the Forces of Robert E. Lee.—Lincoln Absolutely Confides in Grant.—The Battles in the "Wilderness."—Meets with Reverses at Cold Harbour.—Lays Siege to Petersburg.—Lee Unable to Hold out Longer.—Grant Demands Surrender of Army of Confederate States.—Lee Flees from Richmond.—Surrenders to Grant at Appomattox.—Grant's Description of Lee.—His Noble Treatment of His Vanquished Foe.—Grant Proceeds to Washington.—Looks upon the Death of Lincoln as a Calamity for the South.—The Grand Review of the Troops in Washington at Close of War.—Grant's Farewell Address to his Soldiers..... 188

CHAPTER XIII.

PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT (CONCLUDED).

The United States Government Turns its Attention to Mexican Matters.—The French Army Withdraws from

PAGE

Mexico.—Lee and Othes Indicted for Rebellion.—Grant Differs with President Johnson as to Treatment of Confederate Leaders.—At Close of War Gifts and Honours Showered upon Grant.—Grant Visits the South.—Appointed General of the Army of the United States.—Appointed Secretary *Ad Interim*.—Grant stands by Sheridan in Opposition to the President.—The People Consider Grant for the Presidency.—Nominated by the Republican Convention in May, 1868.—His Words on Accepting the Nomination.—His One Desire Peace.—Elected President.—Favours the Annexation of Santo Domingo.—Reconstructing the South.—The Difficulties with Britain Settled.—Much Official Corruption during his Presidency.—Re-nominated for a Second Term.—A Bitter Campaign.—Elected President by a Large Majority.—The Men who Served in his Cabinets.—His Second Inaugural Address.—War Threatening with Spain over Cuba.—Vetoes the "Inflation Bill.—The Whiskey-Ring Frauds.—His Opinions on Education.—Rutherford B. Hays' Inaugural Address.—Grant's Great Journey round the World.—Urged to Stand for a Third Term.—General Garfield Receives the Nomination.—Grant Financially Ruined.—The Writing of his *Memoirs*.—His Heroic Death.—President Cleveland's Words in his Praise..... 228

CHAPTER XIV.

PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

(One Administration 1877-1881).

Rutherford B. Hayes Born in 1822.—His Father a Well-to-do Merchant from Brattleboro, Vermont.—The Hayes Family move to Ohio.—Settle in Delaware, Where Rutherford was Born.—As a Child his Life was Despaired of.—A Model Boy.—Studies at Kenyon College.—Begins the Study of Law.—In the Law School of Harvard University.—Admitted to the Bar, March, 1845.—Marries Miss Lucy M. Webb.—In Early Life a Whig.—Joins

PAGE

the Republican Party.—In Civil War Stands by the North.—Opposed to Compromise with the Secessionists.—Determines to Enlist.—Appointed Major of the 23d Regiment.—Operates in Virginia.—At the Battle of South Mountain.—Major Hayes Wounded.—On Recovery Detailed to act as Brigadier-General of Kanawha Division.—Materially Aids in Capture of John Morgan.—His Heroic Work at Cloyd Mountain.—At Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek.—In the Battle of Winchester.—Sheridan's Famous Ride.—General Crook congratulates Hayes on Battlefield.—General Grant praises his Work. 249

CHAPTER XV.

PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (CONTINUED).

The Republicans Nominate Hayes for Congress in 1864.—Refuses to leave the Field to Stump his Constituency.—His Soldiers' Estimate of Him.—An Energetic Worker in House of Representatives.—His Attitude towards the South after the War.—Severely Criticises President Johnson's Re-construction Plan.— s for the Impeachment of President Johnson.—C. s Johnson "the Traitor who Fills the White House."—Selected by the Republican Party for Governor of Ohio.—Favors Granting the Suffrage to the Negroes.—Elected Governor.—Candidate for Congress in 1872 but Defeated by the Democrats.—Retires to his Home at Fremont.—In 1875 Once More Stands for Governorship.—Opposes Irredeemable Paper-Money.—Favors Free-School.—His Campaign for Governor Makes Him a National Figure.—Talked about in Ohio as a Candidate for the Presidency. 265

CHAPTER XVI.

PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (CONCLUDED).

Rutherford B. Hayes the Nominee for the Presidency.—Advocates Civil Service Reform.—Desires to Bring about Peace with the South.—An Unsatisfactory Election.—The Democrats Claim the Presidency for Tilden.—

PAGE

Bryce's View on the Situation.—Hayes Elected President of the United States by a Majority of One.—His Inauguration.—For Civil Service Reform and Sound Money.—His Cabinet Chosen.—Withdraws the Troops from the State Houses in South.—Begins Civil Service Reforms.—Suspends Chester A. Arthur and Alonzo B. Cornell.—His Reasons for this Step.—His First Annual Message.—Silver Bill Passes both Houses.—The President Vetoes this Bill.—Handles Well the International Affairs of his Country.—Vetoes Bill Restricting the Immigration of Chinese.—Maintains "American Control over the Panama Canal."—His Last Annual Message to Congress.—Retires to Private Life.—A Man of Unbending Will and of Great Integrity.... 276

CHAPTER XVII.

PRESIDENT JAMES A. GARFIELD.

(One Administration, 1881—.)

General Garfield Born at Orange, Ohio.—His Father of Puritan Stock; his Mother Descended from the Huguenots.—A Precocious Child.—Infatuated by Tales of the Sea.—At Work on a Canal Boat.—Attends School at Chester.—Becomes a Campbellite.—Enters Hiram College.—Studies at William College under Mark Hopkins.—An Able Student.—Teaches in Hiram College.—Begins the Study of Law.—Elected to the Senate of Ohio.—Prepares Himself for the Impending Civil War.—Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 42d Regiment of Ohio Volunteers—Operates against Gen. Marshall in Eastern Kentucky.—Appointed Brigadier-General for his Work at Battle of Middle Creek.—At Battle of Shiloh.—Worn out by the Campaign.—On Court-Martial Duty at Washington.—At the Battle of Chickamauga.—Called to Washington.—James G. Blaine Speaks Enthusiastically of his Military Career.—One of the Ablest Members of Congress.—Chosen as Senator-Elect from the State of Ohio.—Nominated for Pres-

PAGE

ident by the Republican Party in 1880.—Elected on the Tariff Issue.—Garfield's Cabinet.—The Collector of the Port of New York.—Senators Conkling and Platt Resign.—The President Assassinated by Guiteau.—His Noble Struggle with Death.—Mourned by the Nation.—Much Promise in his Short Career as President.—An Eloquent and Able Speaker.—A Consistent Life from Log-Cabin to White House..... 280

CHAPTER XVIII.

PRESIDENT CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

(One Administration, 1881-1885.)

Chester A. Arthur Twenty-First President of the United States.—Son of a Baptist Clergyman.—Educated at Union College.—Begins the Study of Law.—Interested in the Anti-Slavery Movement.—A Henry Clay Whig. A Member of the First New York Republican Convention.—Appointed Engineer-in-Chief on the Staff of Governor Edwin D. Morgan.—Inspector-General of the New York Troops.—Returns to the Practice of Law.—Appointed Collector of the Port of New York by President Grant.—Suspended by President Hayes for Partisanship.—Had Conducted his Office with Integrity and Ability.—Resumes his Law Practice.—A Delegate for Grant at Republican Convention, 1880.—Nominated for Vice-Presidency.—The Vice-Presidency too Lightly Considered by the American People.—Garfield and Arthur Elected.—William H. Robertson Appointed Collector of the Port of New York.—Vice-President Arthur Takes Stand against the President.—Garfield Assassinated.—Arthur Devoted to his Dying President.—Sworn in as President.—His Inaugural Address.—His Diplomatic Words at the Dedication of the Yorktown Monument.—Arthur's Cabinet.—The War between Chili, and Peru and Bolivia.—The Nicaragua Canal Considered.—Vetoes a Bill Prohibiting Chinese Immigration.—Does Much to Create Modern United States Navy.

PAGE

—Encourages Expenditure for Defence and Modern Guns.—Advocates a High Protective Policy.—Reduction in Price of Letter-Postage.—An Advocate of Civil Service Reform.—Expedition for the Rescue of Lieutenant Greeley.—His Term a Link between the Reconstruction Period and the Period of Rapid Development.—Supports James G. Blaine for President, 1884.—Dies, November 18, 1886..... 305

CHAPTER XIX.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND.

(Two Administrations, 1885–1889, 1893–1897).

The Republican Party in Power for Twenty-Four Years.—Grover Cleveland to the Rescue of the Democratic Party.—Born in New Jersey, March 18, 1837.—His Family one of the Oldest in America.—His Father a Clergyman; his Mother of Southern Birth.—Leaves School at an Early Age.—At Work in a General Store.—Employed in an Institution for the Blind in New York.—Characteristic Letter.—Journeys West.—Assists in the Making of a Herd Book.—Admitted to the Bar in 1859.—Appointed District Attorney of the County of Erie.—In Sympathy with the Union during the War.—Elected Sheriff of Erie County.—Elected Mayor of Buffalo.—His Inaugural Address.—Earns the Name of the "Veto-Mayor."—Reforms Civic Affairs.—Fearless in his Office.—Wins the Respect of New York..... 326

CHAPTER XX.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND (CONTINUED).

Much Corruption in State Affairs.—Grover Cleveland the Democratic Nominee for Governor.—His Speech at Manhattan Club.—Fair to Labour and to Capital.—Vetoes Bill Reducing the Manhattan Railway Fare.—Favours Just Taxation and Civil Service Reform.—His Second Message to the Legislature.—An Advocate of the

PAGE

Rights of Labour.—Supports Theodore Roosevelt in his Reform Efforts in New York City.—His Rule as Governor of New York Makes him a National Figure.—A Possible Democratic Candidate for the Presidency..... 340

CHAPTER XXI.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND (CONTINUED).

Grover Cleveland Presidential Choice of Democratic National Convention.—His Letter of Acceptance.—Many of the Best Republicans Support Him.—*Harper's Weekly* Speaks on his Behalf.—Defeats James G. Blaine.—Rejoicing in the South over his Election.—His Inaugural Address.—His Cabinet an Able One.—Endeavours to Reform the Civil Service.—Recklessly Distributed Land in the West Restored to the People.—Advises the Reduction of Import Duties.—Not a Free-Trader.—A Marriage in the White House.—Vetoes many Fraudulent Claims for Pensions.—Visits the South and West.—Vetoes the Texas Seed Bill.—Pronounces Himself in Favour of Ultimate Free Trade.—The Fisheries Question between England and United States Causes Trouble.—Re-nominated at the National Democratic Convention, 1888.—His Acceptance of the Nomination.—A President on Whom there was no Blot..... 350

CHAPTER XXII.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND (CONCLUDED).

Defeated for the Presidency by General Harrison.—Begins the Practice of Law in New York City.—Writes Letter against Free and Unlimited Coinage of Silver.—In 1890 Congressional Elections go Democratic.—Grover Cleveland Nominated for the Presidency at Chicago, 1892.—His Letter of Acceptance.—The First President Re-Elected after an Interim.—Chooses His Cabinet.—A Time of General Depression in the Country.—The Hawaii Situation.—Mr. Dole President of Hawaii.—The Cuban Situation Attracts the Attention of the United

PAGE

States.—The Venezuela Boundary Question.—President Cleveland Advocates Arbitration.—War Threatening between Great Britain and the United States.—The President's Startling Message.—The United States Commission Appointed.—The Venezuela Boundary Treaty Signed.—The Columbian Exposition at Chicago.—Hard Times in the United States.—Sherman Act Repealed.—The President Advocates Tariff Revision.—The Wilson Bill Passes the House.—Passes the Senate in a Greatly Altered Condition.—President Cleveland Feels the Situation Keenly.—The Riots in Chicago Firmly Dealt with by the President.—William J. Bryan Nominated for the Presidency.—Bryan Defeated by William McKinley.—Cleveland Still a Force for Good in the United States. 362

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON.

(One Administration 1889–1893.)

Benjamin Harrison of Viginian Stock.—His Ancestors Puritans of Cromwell's Time.—The Dying Words of the Regicide Harrison.—Related to the Churchills.—Benjamin Harrison of the Revolution.—William Henry Harrison (Tippecanoe), President of the United States, Grandfather of Benjamin Harrison.—Benjamin Harrison.—Born in Ohio in 1833.—In Early Life an Admirer of Webster.—Educated at Farmers College.—On Defeat of Whig Party Becomes a Republican.—Marries Caroline L. Scott.—His Struggle for Existence in Indianapolis.—Recruits the 70th Regiment for the Civil War.—Takes the Field as Colonel of the Regiment.—Hero of Many Battles.—His Gallant Charge at the Battle of Peach Tree Creek.—Promoted to the Rank of Brigadier-General.—General Hooker's Words in his Praise.—Smitten Down with Fever.—Recognized as a Man of Force and Character in his State..... 379

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON (CONCLUDED).

PAGE

General Harrison Nominated for the Governorship of Indiana.—Though Defeated a Strong Candidate.—A Friend of the Workmen.—A Member of the Mississippi River Commission.—Supports Garfield at Republican Convention in Chicago.—Offered a Place in Garfield's Cabinet.—Appointed to the Senate.—A Severe Critic of President's Cleveland's Administration.—Talked of in Ohio for Presidency.—Nominated at Chicago, June 19, 1888.—Accepts the Nomination.—Favours a Protective Tariff.—Opposed to Chinese Immigration.—Favours Increased Naval Expenditure.—His Antipathy to Britain.—Addresses Delegates at his Indianapolis Home.—Elected President.—His Inaugural Address.—The Behring Sea Question.—The McKinley Bill.—Approves of Sherman's Silver Bill.—Points out the Necessity of Tariff Revision.—Civil War in C[illegible] —Italians Lynched by Mob in New Orleans.—Italian Minister Recalled from Washington.—Harrison Renom[illegible]ted for President.—Defeated by Grover Cleveland.—The Hawaiian Situation.—President's Harrison's Prophetic Words with Regard to American Progress.—In Private Life Once more.—His Death in Opening Year of Twentieth Century.... 392

CHAPTER XXV.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

(Two Administrations, 1897-1901, 1901—).

The Last President of the Nineteenth Century a Victim of the Anarchists.—William McKinley, Born in Ohio, 1843.—His Ancestors Veterans of the Revolutionary War and of the War of 1812.—His Early Education.—Answers Lincoln's Call for Volunteers when Sumter was Fired upon.—A Private in the Ranks.—Sees Much Fighting.—Whitelaw Reid's Account of his Regiment's Work at South Mountain and Antietam.—McKinley's

PAGE

Heroic Work on Latter Occasion.—His Rapid Promotion.—Fighting in the Shenandoah Valley.—A Captain at the Battle of Opequan.—Appointed a Brevet-Major by President Lincoln for Gallant Services.—Receives a Staff Appointment at Washington.—On Close of War Begins the Study of Law.—A Republican and a Protectionist.—Elected District-Attorney.—Marries Miss Ida Saxton..... 400

CHAPTER XXVI.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY (CONTINUED).

Major McKinley an Active Politician in Ohio.—Elected to Congress in 1876.—Meets Mr. James G. Blaine.—Becomes the Great Apostle of a High Protective Tariff.—An Attempt to Gerrymander him out of Congress.—Recognized as one of the Ablest Republicans in the House.—His Attitude on the Money Question.—Prefers "a Tariff for Protection with Incidental Revenue."—A Brilliant Speech on Protection.—A Practical Politician.—A Supporter of John Sherman for the Presidency.—An Attempt made to Nominate McKinley in 1888.—Refuses to Accept the Nomination.—Supports General Harrison at the Convention in 1892.—Attacks the Mills Tariff Bill.—Constructs the McKinley Tariff Bill.—Elected Governor of Ohio.—An Able Governor and a Friend to the Toilers.—In His Second Campaign for the Governorship Takes Stand against Free Trade and Free Silver.—An Upholder of Law and Order.—Speaks Vigorously against the Wilson-Gorman Law.—Meets with Financial Disaster.—His Heroic Conduct under Misfortune.—His Friends to the Rescue..... 418

CHAPTER XXVII.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY (CONTINUED).

Governor McKinley Speaks before Vast Audiences.—The Republican Platform in 1896.—Nominated for the Presidency.—William Jennings Bryan Nominated by Dem-

PAGE

ocrats.—McKinley Elected President.—Selects his Cabinet.—Trade in a Depressed Condition.—The President's First Message to Congress.—Reviews the Condition of the Country.—The Tariff Bill of Nelson Dingley.—The Situation in Cuba.—The President asks Aid for Suffering Americans in Cuba.—The Spanish Minister at Washington Criticises the President.—The "Maine" Destroyed in Havana Harbour.—Preparations for War.—The President Lays the Cuban Situation before Congress.—General Woodford Minister to Spain Given his Passports.—The Spanish-American War Begins.—The Relative Strength of the two Countries.—The Grounds on which United States Entered upon War.—Cuba Blockaded.—The Spanish Fleet Destroyed in Manila Harbour.—Admiral Cervera's Fleet Destroyed at Santiago.—Peace Negotiations Begin.—War Ceases.—Liberal Terms Granted to Spain.—The Philippine Situation.—Commission Appointed to Examine Philippine Question.—Hawaii Made a Territory of United States.—Situation in the Island of Samoa.—United States Enters on an Imperial Career.—The Boxer Movement in China.—Weighty Questions Ably Handled by President McKinley 434

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY (CONCLUDED).

The Situation Demands a Return of President McKinley to the White House.—The Philadelphia Republican Convention.—Senator Wolcott Speaks on the Country's Situation.—The Platform of the Republican Party.—President McKinley Renominated.—Theodore Roosevelt Nominated for the Vice-Presidency.—Mark Hanna's Appeal to the Country.—William J. Bryan the Democratic Nominee.—Still Upholds Free Silver.—The Growth of the United States in the Century.—President McKinley Re-elected.—Makes an Extended Tour of the Country.—His Speech on the Battlefield of Antietam.—His Speech

PAGE

at Memphis.—His Journey Through the South a Triumph.—Illness of Mrs. McKinley Stops Tour.—The Philippine Situation.—The Billion Dollar Steel Trust.—President's Day at the Pan-American Exposition.—The Address of President McKinley at the Pan-American.—A Thoroughly Cosmopolitan and Christian Ruler.—Takes a Holiday to Niagara.—Assassinated by Leon Czolgosz.—The President's Brave Struggle with Death.—His Dying Words.—Mourned by the Entire Nation.—President Roosevelt Takes the Oath of Office.—Carries out the Policy of President McKinley..... 455

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

T. G. MARQUIS.....*Frontispiece*

JAMES BUCHANAN..... 64

ABRAHAM LINCOLN..... 82

BENJAMIN HARRISON..... 382

WILLIAM MCKINLEY..... 408

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

CARLYLE in his *Cromwell, Frederick the Great* and *The French Revolution,* and Green in his sober and picturesque *History of England* taught the modern Anglo-Saxon world both how to write and to read history. Facts are excellent things, and a writer should take the greatest care to sift his material, separating fact from fiction, well established information from mere traditions. Carlyle and Green, however, saw with clear vision that the living souls, about whom cluster the facts of history like the nerves and veins, the blood and flesh and bones about the human personality, were vastly more important than the mere dates on which they performed their deeds or the incidents in which they played their parts. The great Elizabethan age is made an open sesame to the twentieth century

reader by the strength of Green's drawing of Queen Elizabeth, with her patriotism and falsehood, her intellectual brilliancy and her feminine vanity, her strength as a ruler and her fondness for show and applause; and by the keen insight of the historian into the lives of the authors of her reign, the men who made the age immortal: the pen pictures given of Marlowe and Greene with their intellectual keenness and their animal impulses,—their strong mentality bound within half savage shells, each a Caliban and a Prospero in one and the same body;—these things reveal the age and make it live as no dry-as-dust treatment could do.

In the same way to make the modern world live, it is necessary to know the men and women who have made its history. Disraeli and Gladstone and Chamberlain are modern England, Bismarck is modern Germany: and so with the United States; to know it thoroughly and well, to grasp the spirit that animates the nation, it is only necessary to study the lives of the presidents, who are at once typical Americans and embodiments of the popular mind.

Roughly speaking, the history of the United States might be divided into two great periods,—the formative period and the period of progress. It would not be unfitting to make the division between these two periods at 1852 when Franklin Pierce was elected President. It is no easy matter in literature or in history to draw hard and fast lines separating one age from another, but certain great events in literature and history seem to distinctly mark epochs. In a sense the defeat of General Winfield Scott for the Presidency, and with that defeat the passing away forever from the stage of American politics of the great Whig party, ends a great period. Up to

this time the nation had been a struggling youth forming its character, strong and vigorous, but without definite ideals or that unity of aim that makes for true growth. It was without an ideal, and the party strife was bitter and cruel. The Whigs swept from the boards, the modern Republican party stepped on the scene and a battle royal began between the Democrats and the Republicans which has marked the era of progress that is still going on and which is rapidly making the United States the first among the nations of the world, in enterprise, in achievement, in wealth, and in wisdom; and it looks very much as though the beginning of the twentieth century was the initial step in a movement that will make her first in literature and art.

There had of course been exceptional progress made before 1852, but the second half of the nineteenth century saw the nation advance by leaps and bounds without a parallel in the world's history. Carthage, Greece, Rome, Spain grew, it is true, rapidly, but they grew "by conquest without representation," and while they became wealthy their influence throughout their Empire was the influence of a despot. It has been otherwise with the United States; her boundaries broadened by peaceful means, and save for the Mexican war she acquired no territory by the sword till the last years of the century when the Spanish islands at her doors and the Spanish possessions in the Philippines came under her sway. In neither of these cases did the nation attack a foreign power for the sake of acquiring territory.

It would be well in commencing the study of the lives of the men who have made the history of the last fifty years of the United States (and the President is more decidedly a history-maker than Czar, or

Kaiser, or King) to realise the significance of the Pierce-Scott campaign. A new era began with the election of Franklin Pierce. He came into power at what seemed to be a time of peace, but it was merely the calm before the storm; external peace gave time for the growth of internal strife, and the struggle over Kansas which began in 1854 and culminated under President Buchanan was the initial movement in the life of the Union as it exists to-day.

It was well that this civil strife came when it did. It cleared the air at the time when commercial and industrial progress was about to enter on its modern stage, when miracle-working machinery was about to change the face of the earth, annihilating space, revealing the secrets of the heavens, the earth, and the waters under the earth, and making man's lot happier and more comfortable, giving him control over the powers of the air, enabling him to throw paths across roaring torrents and wide streams, to bore his way through mountain barriers, or to climb their steep sides with safety and speed. These things have made the latter half of the nineteenth century peculiarly an age of progress, and that the modern spirit has so decidedly found a home on this continent is due very largely to the shrewd and far-seeing men who have been placed in the presidential chair.

From Pierce to McKinley is a short period in time, but in growth it is the greatest period in the world's history, and in fifty years more development has taken place in material prosperity, in spiritual growth and insight than in all the previous centuries of the Christian era. This may seem an extreme statement when the mind rapidly runs over in review the great philosophers, the painters, the sculp-

tors, the poets, and even the scientists of earlier times; but it must be remembered that in previous centuries knowledge and power were the property of the few and only here and there a choice spirit was to be found who seemed, as it were, to have snatched fire from the altars of the gods; that while occasional brilliant minds rose above their environment and illuminated the world with their transcendent genius they were but as beacons in a sea of ignorance and superstition. Now the ignorant man in America is the exception, and only in the most remote corners of the country or under abnormal circumstances of life and society is superstition to be found.

It is noteworthy that great periods of growth have almost invariably been ushered in by wars. The great reforms at the beginning of the nineteenth century had as their fore-runners the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic wars; the mid-century movements, too, were conceived in blood,—the Crimean war, the Indian Mutiny, and the Civil war of the United States were the preludes of widespread progress and reform and loftier national ideals. It would seem that a new era is opening with the twentieth century, an era of arbitration, of peaceful modes of solving international problems, of philanthropy and altruism; the Spanish-American war and the Great Boer war would almost seem to be the conflicts marking the transition between the period of ambition and progress among the nations and the period just opening up which it would be hard to name, but which will probably be marked among the nations by a wider realisation of the fundamentals of Christianity and an application of Christian principles in international affairs, and

in the dealings of civilised powers with less civilised and barbarous peoples.

For an understanding of the great problems that have occupied the minds of the American nation it is only necessary to study the lives of the presidents. Take for example the life of Pierce. It is often a source of wonder how the Southern Pro-slavery party made such headway aganst the Abolitionists in the opening years of the great Civil war. If the life of President Pierce is studied carefully the reason will be evident. The South was a unit; the North at the beginning of the strife was divided. Pierce, while a Northern man and no friend of slavery as such, held, like many others in the North, that the Constitution sanctioned slavery and on account of the vested interests it should be sustained. In his desire for justice, as he saw it, he gave a helping hand to the slavery party. Again, when he came into office his country was reaching out commercially, and the rehearsal of the part he played in opening the gates of Japan, in establishing a reciprocity treaty with Canada and more favourable terms with European powers, in helping on ocean traffic, etc., gives in a more living manner the progress of his country between 1853 and 1857 than could be done if volumes of bald facts on these questions were presented to the reader.

It is the same with the period between 1861 and 1865. To understand why the North triumphed over the South it is only necessary to live in spirit with Abraham Lincoln. The sturdy and typical Americanism of which he was the embodiment, the indignation caused by man's inhumanity to man which focussed in his heart, the determination that knew no defeat,—find expression in his life. The spirit

that animated Abraham Lincoln was the spirit of the Abolitionist party as a whole, and to know that party well and to know the spirit of the nation enduring a bloody war, making superhuman sacrifices for an ideal, it is only necessary to study carefully the life of Lincoln from his rude early surroundings in his Kentucky home to his martyrdom through the malice of the party he had crushed.

There is another tendency in the nation, the tendency to marshall the forces of democracy against the plutocracy, the people against the trusts and combines. The true spirit of democracy can best be gathered from a perusal of the career of Grover Cleveland. He was, during his presidential life, a type of sober-minded democracy, a man free from the extreme points of view that are so often associated with the word Democrat, a man of sound judgment and great business capacity,—and to know his life is to know the history of his country between 1885 and 1889 and 1893 and 1897.

But the nation was slowly but surely growing in sobriety of judgment, humanity, and spiritual life; and in the last great President, who has just fallen beneath the bullet of the assassin—the third President to die by the hand of an assassin within a period of only thirty-six years—there was the highest manifestation of the national life at the close of the nineteenth century. He possessed good judgment, fine business capacity, an unbending, though not stubborn, will, and a religious depth of feeling. He was but a type of the nation, on the one hand keenly awake to business, on the other desiring a life higher than this mundane one.

The period covered by the lives of the eleven presidents included in this volume is one rich in

material prosperity and national growth. In this period, for instance, the Atlantic cable has been laid chaining the old world to the new, Niagara has been spanned, and the thunder of the trains overhead mingles with the roar of the giant fall beneath them, the modern weapons of war have been invented, the great processes for manufacturing steel have been perfected, and electricity, the terror of the ancients, has been made the handmaid and the plaything of man. It is this age, in the most progressive of modern countries, we would study in the light of the men chosen from the nation by the nation to be their rulers. As Carlyle has said, "Great Men, taken up in any way, are profitable company," and it would be impossible among the rulers of the nineteenth century or of all preceding centuries to find more profitable subjects for study than the Presidents of the American people.

CHAPTER II.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE.

(One Administration, 1853-1857)

During the first half of the nineteenth century a race of strong men swayed the wills of the people of the North and the South; chief among these were Calhoun, Clay and Webster,—men keen to grasp a situation, quick to see a weak spot in the armour of their opponents and powerful in the presentation of their ideas. For the most part they were too brilliant; and though they were ambitious to occupy the chief place in the nation, they found themselves beaten in the race for presidential honours by such blunt soldiers as Jackson, Harrison, and Taylor and by such mediocre statesmen as Polk and Fillmore or such a smooth-tongued diplomat as Martin Van Buren.

No nation was ever in greater need of a strong man in every sense of the word at the helm than was the United States at the middle of the nineteenth century. She had had a "critical period" after the Revolution, and she was only saved by the wisdom of Washington; she was now approaching a still more critical period, and had there been a Washington in the Capital during the time of the Mexican war and in the days when

the Kansas struggle shook the nation she might have gained union and solidarity without the bloody struggle which would have sapped the resources and left bankrupt any country save one with such infinite sources of expansion and inexhaustible wealth. The country was drifting, drifting over a stormy sea, and stormy waves from the North met stormier waves from the South, and yet the captain seemed not to see the maelström towards which the vessel was being driven.

In 1853, Franklin Pierce became President of the United States. While he was a man of great integrity, noble character, of considerable breadth of mind, a politician trained by crossing swords with such men as Clay and Webster, he did little or nothing to avert the calamity that was rapidly approaching.

Franklin Pierce like the majority of the presidents of the United States, could point with pride to the part his ancestors had played in the struggle that made his country a self-respecting and self-governing one. His father, Benjamin Pierce, was but a lad of seventeen at the time when the agitation against the tryanny of King George and his ministers culminated in the fight at Lexington. He was, however, not too young to handle a musket in his country's cause, and from the outbreak of the war until the Patriot Army disbanded in 1784 he fought almost continuously, winning the esteem of his officers and the confidence of his comrades in arms. That he had, although so young, more than ordinary military ability is shown by the fact that when the war was over he had attained the rank of captain and brevet major. He had seen enough of service through the trying years of the Revolution

to break his constitution, but his hard experiences only seemed to make him stronger, physically, mentally and morally. His country was, however, too poor to give him fitting compensation for his years of arduous service, and he was forced to face life with but two hundred dollars in his pocket. The outlook was not a bright one. In his native State, Massachusetts, long settled and populous, land was dear and his wealth would go but a small way in obtaining a farm, and so he was forced to look elsewhere.

The New Hampshire Grants were then attracting a good deal of attention, and to the wild woods on the borders of civilisation he went to carve out for himself a home in the almost unbroken wilderness. Other settlers had been before him, and near a rippling stream, which was alive with trout, he came upon a rude log cabin situated in a little clearing. The owner was rich in an estate of one hundred and fifty acres. It is true it was principally forest land, but the dozen or so acres that were partially cleared and the trout stream that delighted the young captain were a great temptation. Besides, he did not feel like beginning on the primeval forest, and so he offered the settler one hundred and fifty dollars for his one hundred and fifty acres, and the property became his, log hut and all. He married Elizabeth Andrews, but she died when only twenty-one years old. Shortly after her death he again married; his second wife's name was Anna Hendrick. By this marriage he became the father of five sons and three daughters; two of the boys died young, but the remaining three all became more or less distinguished and all inherited from their father his love of military life. The fourth son,

Franklin Pierce, the subject of this sketch, was born at Hillsborough, November 22, 1804.

With the same energy that had made Benjamin Pierce a good soldier and won him rapid promotion in the army he entered into the life of the community in which he settled. He was not long in the Hillsborough district before he was recognised as a man of more than ordinary ability and integrity, and in 1789 his neighbors sent him to the Legislature; and so well did he acquit himself there that, until 1803, he continued to be their representative. In that year he became a member of the governor's council, and did such good work until 1809 that the people of Hillsborough thought it about time to reward him for his long years of unselfish service on their behalf, and chose him sheriff of the county.

One of his first acts in his new office well illustrates his character and will help the reader to understand whence Franklin Pierce got his noble, sympathetic nature. He had under his jurisdiction as sheriff a number of prisoners for debt, among them three who were veterans of the Revolution. He considered the law which enabled creditors to imprison their debtors an iniquitous one, and the fact that three men who had on many well-fought fields risked their lives for their country's life, and who like himself had probably received practically no remuneration for their long years of suffering and danger, should be in durance vile, stirred him deeply. He could not rest content in his new office and daily come in contact with these three veterans suffering as criminals for no crime but for a misfortune which, perchance, was quite as much their country's fault as their own. In the bigness of his heart he paid their debts, set them at liberty and spoke in the

strongest terms against the iniquitous law which had incarcerated them.

Such a man was the father of Franklin Pierce. Although sheriff of the county he still took an interest in the political life of his country and continued to grow in the esteem of all who knew him; so much so that in 1827 he was elected governor of New Hampshire, and, although defeated by the energy of the Adams men in 1828, was again elected to the same office in 1829.

Although young Ben Pierce had as he thought laid aside, in 1784, the sword for the axe and the hoe, his long years of military service had left their impress deep on his character, and when General Sullivan reorganised the New Hampshire Militia in 1786 he was one of the first to offer his services, and his ability and experience was such that he rapidly rose to the rank of brigadier-general. Until his death in 1839 there was no man in New Hampshire who in military and political affairs did more for his State than Ben Pierce. That Franklin Pierce as a politician and, in a lesser degree, as a soldier was such a successful man was largely due to the example of his father and to the training he received at his hands. Benjamin early saw that his son Frank had more than ordinary ability, and determined to give him the very best education his country afforded. As the schools in the immediate vicinity of his home were of the most primitive nature, he sent his son first to one at Hancock, then to one at Francestown and finally to Exeter Academy, where he was prepared for Bowdoin College. At sixteen, by no means an early age for a matriculant of that day, he entered Bowdoin College.

In every man there are two or even more distinct

characters. Pierce had an intellectual keenness which, however, was not vigorous enough to predominate over a physical energy that drew him from his books. The first two years of his course were far from brilliant, and he seems to have dreamt away his time, barely passing on examinations that were, in the light of our present standards, ridiculously easy. It is said that he was a reckless, dissipated student; but this has to be taken *cum grano*. He could not have gone very deep before his eighteenth year, and by that time he seems to have settled down into an earnest, industrious student. It should be remembered that his character at college was such as to win the esteem and lifelong admiration of his college mate, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and the love of the sweet and God-fearing daughter of the president of Bowdoin College, Jane Means Appleton. No doubt his enthusiastic nature found more enjoyment out of the society of Longfellow, Hawthorne and others of his classmates who were to achieve distinction than out of the pages of his Euclid or Cicero.

After two years' residence at college he found himself at the foot of his class, but the most popular student. He had won the friendship of a fellow student, Zeneas Cauldwell, a pious Methodist who, sorry for his brilliant friend's failure, determined to shape his character into new channels, and, what is more, by his persistence, succeeded. Due to the influence of Zeneas, Pierce became a serious Christian man, and, although never a religious enthusiast, his whole character was influenced by Christianity. At the close of his sophomore year he went with Zeneas to Hebron, Me., and, to fit himself for future work, tried his hand at school-teaching at fourteen dollars a month. He returned to college with re-

newed energy at the close of his vacation, and when he graduated in 1824 it was with honours, and he stood third in an exceptionally brilliant class.

During his course the students of Bowdoin established a military company, and, both from his own popularity and the fact that his father was a brigadier-general and had fought through the Revolutionary war, he was unanimously elected captain, and much of the time that should have been given to his books was given to military tactics and drill. No doubt the college authorities deplored the way the promising young student was squandering his time, but it was well that he shaped his life after his own fashion. His military studies helped to fit him for his career in the Mexican war, and the time spent in discussion and reading gave him a wider view of life than he could have gained from sticking closely to his school texts. The ardent student too often is unable to think without a book or pen in his hand; Franklin Pierce for his career needed the quickness of wit that comes from living contact with men rather than from books.

On leaving college he at once began the study of law, first in the office of the Hon. Edward Parker at Amherst, then under the Hon. Levi Woodbury at Portsmouth, and finally gave a finish to his study by attendance at the Law School at North Hampton, Mass. He was admitted to the Bar in 1827, just as his father was entering on his campaign for the governorship of the State. This was the opening young Pierce needed, and he at once began his career as a politician by actively working in his father's interests.

He was more successful as a stump orator than as a lawyer, however. Indeed, according to his bio-

grapher and friend, Nathaniel Hawthorne, he was never what could be called a brilliant pleader at the bar. His first case before a jury was at Amherst. He failed, hopelessly failed. He was deeply chagrined at this defeat, and his friends felt keenly for him; but he was made of the right stuff. Like many another strong man he needed adversity to bring out all that was best in him. It was his failure in his sophomore year that made him leave college one of the best honour students of his class, and it was his failure in his Amherst case that finally made him a successful lawyer, if not a great one. He showed in a remark to a friend about this reverse wherein lay his true strength: "I will try," he said, "nine hundred and ninety-nine cases, if clients continue to trust me, and if I fail just as I have to-day, I will try the thousandth. I shall live to argue cases in this court-house in a manner that will mortify neither myself nor my friends."

In the following year he had an opportunity of testing his powers. There was a hot fight in New Hampshire between the friends of General Jackson and the supporters of John Quincy Adams, and into this fight Franklin Pierce entered as a Jackson man. But the Adams men were too strong, and even Governor Pierce, popular as he was, suffered defeat. In a year's time his son once more took the stump on his behalf, and his growth in power was so remarkable that his friends and even his enemies began to recognise that he had a future before him. In 1830, he was elected to the New Hampshire Legislature and in 1832–33 was chosen Speaker of the House. He was slowly but surely winning his way upwards, and his supporters, recognising his strength and integrity, were willing to trust him still further.

In 1833, he was elected to the Congress of the United States at the early age of twenty-nine.

His career in Congress was not a remarkably brilliant one. He proved himself an industrious worker. He was a most pronounced partisan and by his support of President Jackson won the life long-esteem of that distinguished soldier. He stood by the President in his attacks on the United States Bank, which extended from 1829 to 1836, and no doubt was as pleased as the President himself when the latter finally succeeded in taking "the strut out of this Biddle." Although he had proved himself a good stump orator in New Hampshire he was not a power on the floors of Congress. Debating was not his strong point, and he contented himself with doing the work he could do faithfully and well. He however could make himself listened to, and in 1834 delivered his first important speech. In it he dealt with the necessities of exercising the greatest care in the payment of Revolutionary claims. This was a subject on which he was no doubt at home as the son of a man who had fought through the entire Revolutionary war and who had received but scant reward for his services.

During his career in Congress he commanded the attention of the House on at least two other important occasions. His speech in 1835 against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia showed his attitude on the slave question, and from the position he then took he never swerved. In the following year he spoke against the appropriations for the Military Academy at West Point. He was yet to go through the Mexican war, and what he then saw of the "citizen soldiers" convinced him that he was wrong, and that, though military insti-

tutions may have their bad side, they are a necessity to any country and the greatest safeguard of peace. Soldiers are but the police of the world, and the more efficient they are the more steadfast will be peace.

In 1836, Congressman Pierce was actively engaged in the Presidential campaign and did not a little to keep New Hampshire strongly democratic. In the following year, when but thirty-three years old, the New Hampshire Legislature elected him to the Senate of the United States, and he took his seat within those illustrious halls at a time when the air was heavy with change, and when some of the ablest speakers who ever charmed the ears of American audiences or stirred their hearts as with living fire, were his daily associates. Constantly coming under the influence of men like Calhoun, Buchanan, and Benton he could not but develop; and, although during the years in the New Hampshire Legislature and Congress he had not proved himself a remarkable speaker, by perseverance and careful preparation he gained such a command over language, that, although the youngest member of the Senate, he was ever listened to with pleasure. The following description of Pierce as a Senator, from the pen of his contemporary, James Buchanan, gives a good idea of the man at that time:

"When General Pierce first made his appearance in the Senate he was one of the youngest, if not the very youngest, of its members. Modest and unassuming in his deportment, but firm and determined in his principles and purposes, it was not long before he acquired the respect and esteem of his brother senators. From deep conviction he was a State Rights Democrat, sound, unwavering, and inflexible; and I venture to predict that when his votes shall

be scrutinised and tested by the touchstone of democratic principles, they will present as fair a record as those of even the lamented (Silas) Wright himself. His innate modesty and comparative youth prevented him from addressing the Senate very frequently, and yet I well recollect some of his efforts which would have done no discredit to the oldest and ablest members of the body, then in its most palmy days. When he spoke he was always prepared; his voice was excellent, his language well chosen and felicitous, and he had an earnestness of manner, proceeding evidently from deep conviction, which always commanded the attention of his audience."

While in the Senate, although it would hardly be just to call him a Pro-slavery man, he certainly was strongly opposed to the Anti-slavery party. He was a consistent State Rights Democrat, and was in his attitude on the bitter question of slavery influenced by his love of the Union. He feared that the extreme Abolitionists would bring about a severing of the North from the South and his attitude on slavery was largely due to his desire to maintain the Union of his country; just as when the war of secession broke out he put aside all party prejudices and spoke in trumpet tones for the Union.

It is, however, difficult to understand his position on the matter of the petitions that were laid before the House on the slavery question. The right of petition is a right dear to all modern minds and particularly so to those of Anglo-Saxon blood, and yet Pierce was one of the select committee who brought in a resolution to the House of Representatives to effectually kill this right. It is difficult, knowing the fair-minded character of the man, to understand how he could endorse the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this confederacy.

"Resolved, That Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia.

"And whereas it is extremely important and desirable that the agitation on this subject should be finally arrested, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity to the public mind, your committee respectfully recommend the adoption of the following additional resolutions—viz:

"Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers relating in any way to the subject of slavery, shall, without being printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and no further action shall be had thereon."

It is difficult to understand how Franklin Pierce could sanction this last resolution, but it must be remembered that the Abolition party was an extreme one, and he saw the way things were drifting. It was no doubt due to his desire to see his country saved from the strife that was threatening and which he feared would tear it asunder that impelled him to agree to this iniquitous report—a report which was adopted by the House.

He was not silent on the other great questions agitating the nation during his term in the Senate, and his voice was heard in a vigorous speech in 1840 on the Indian war then being waged in Florida. He was, however, soon to leave the Senate. His wife's health was not good at this time, and as he attributed her condition to the climate of Washington he decided to resign his seat and return to the more congenial region of New Hampshire.

While he was considerate of his wife's health, no doubt his law practice had something to do with his decision. He had moved from Hillsborough to Concord in 1838, and found more work than he could do. His political life greatly interfered with his professional duties, and for business reasons he may have been prompted to resign his seat in the Senate. Doubtless, too, the death of his father in 1839 made him less ambitious of following a political career. Whatever were the reasons he resigned his seat June 28, 1842, and it seemed with the fixed determination of never again entering upon a public career. However he was drawn out of his shell in 1844 to help his friend James K. Polk in his presidential campaign at the time when the United States was on the verge of war with Mexico and when this great issue had stirred up considerable party feeling. During the canvass he declared that should it be impossible to avoid war he would enlist as a soldier. This promise he was to keep.

In 1845, he was offered a seat in the Senate, but refused it, giving the same reasons that he gave for resigning three years previously. President Polk, however, out of gratitude for his services, and knowing his sterling qualities and his legal acumen, offered him the position of attorney-general in his cabinet, but he had no desire to reside in Washington, and so rejected this splendid offer. However, he did accept from President Polk the position of district-attorney for New Hampshire.

He was soon to receive an urgent call that neither the pressure of business nor domestic considerations could make him resist. Since the attack was made on Fort Brown on May 3, 1846, the war with Mexico had been vigorously prosecuted. Palo Alto,

Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey had all become historical names renowned for the gallant deeds of the soldiers of the United States and for the fine generalship of their leaders. But the war was far from finished, and it was found necessary to make ready ten new regiments. True to his promise Franklin Pierce joined the Concord company of the New Hampshire battalion as a private, but when the force was ready to be sent to the front, President Polk offered him a commission as a Colonel, and later, on March 3, 1847, appointed him a brigadier-general. His experiences at Bowdoin College, where during his first two years his studies had been so sadly neglected, were now to stand him in good stead.

The brigade over which General Pierce had command consisted of the Ninth Regiment from New England; the Twelfth from the South Western States; and the Fifteenth, from the Western States. The troops sailed in the barque "Kepler" for Vera Cruz, and after a trying voyage in the worst season of the year reached their destination on June 28. On this voyage General Pierce won the affection of his soldiers by his self-sacrifice and kindly consideration for them under the hard conditions of a troopship equipped by a war office with but little experience in transporting troops. It was intensely hot when they landed at Vera Cruz, and was so hard on the men that numbers of them were soon in a state of collapse. It would not do to delay, and so the brigade at once made preparations to form a junction with General Scott at Puebla. The march from the sea coast was a difficult one, but was accomplished in such a manner as to win for General Pierce the warmest praise of his commander-in-chief. It had

not been without its dangers, and on one occasion while the force was at a difficult point on the march a sudden attack was made by a guerilla band and General Pierce had two bullets pass through his hat.

Two weeks after his arrival at Puebla he was to experience his first battle. The Mexican general, Valencia, had taken up a strong position at Contreras. It was Scott's intention to drive him from his intrenchments and at the same time cut off his retreat. The fight at this place was one of the hardest in the war, and General Pierce remained in the thickest of it, despite the fact that early in the struggle, during a frontal attack, his horse had fallen, broken its leg and thrown its rider heavily, severely injuring his knee. He was in the saddle all day, and up at daylight on the following morning, and ready to go in pursuit of the forces of Valencia, who was in full flight on Churubusco, where Santa-Anna was with his main army. In the battle which was fought on this day he succumbed to the pain of his wound, and although he gallantly remained under fire was unable to take an active part in the final scenes of the fight. When he returned to his country and was chosen by the Democratic party to stand for the Presidency there were many evil-minded ones ready to attribute his action on this occasion to cowardice. But a braver man than Franklin Pierce never lived. The best testimony we have of the man in this war are the words of General Grant, no admirer of Pierce, and one who scorned untruth.

"General Franklin Pierce," he writes, "had joined the army in Mexico, at Puebla, a short time before the advance on the Capital commenced. He had consequently not been in any of the engagements

of the war up to the battle of Contreras. By an unfortunate fall of his horse on the afternoon of the 19th (August, 1847) he was painfully injured. The next day when his brigade, with the other troops engaged on the same field, was ordered against the flank and rear of the enemy guarding the different points of the road from San Augustin Tlalpan to the city, General Pierce attempted to accompany them. He was not sufficiently recovered to do so, and fainted. This circumstance gave rise to exceedingly unfair and unjust criticisms of him when he became a candidate for the Presidency. Whatever General Pierce's qualifications may have been for the Presidency, he was a gentleman and a man of courage. I was not a supporter of him politically, but I knew him more intimately than I did any of the other volunteer generals."

In the peace negotiations which followed Contreras and Cherubusco he was chosen one of the American commissioners; but Santa-Anna was found to be insincere and the struggle began again, and General Pierce was to take part in the final great battles of the war, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec, and at the capture of the City of Mexico on September 14. From first to last he proved himself an excellent soldier, brave and humane.

Whether this war was just or otherwise is a question which is still open to debate, but one thing is certain, Franklin Pierce believed he was fighting in a righteous cause. However, he was not loath to return to the quiet surroundings of his New Hampshire home. The people of his State appreciated his work in Mexico, and gave him a most enthusiastic reception on his return; and the Legislature of New Hampshire, in which his voice had so often been

heard, presented him with a sword of honour. He seemed, however, to have but one aim now,—to be a successful lawyer,—and until 1852 no more brilliant pleader was heard in the courts of his native State. His father had been called the most influential man in New Hampshire; his more distinguished son soon became known as "the favorite son of New Hampshire." As the time came round for the nomination of the President for the elections of 1852 throughout his State he was freely spoken of as the most deserving citizen for the honour. His personal character, his political experience, and his war record all made him a popular choice, and when the Democratic State Convention of New Hampshire met in January, 1852, he was unanimously chosen as candidate for President. He, however, at this time had no thought of attempting to win the exalted office of President, and decidedly refused to allow his name to stand as the State representative. One of Franklin Pierce's leading traits was his excellent common sense. He knew his own limitations well, and recognised that although he could obtain any office he desired from the people of New Hampshire he was practically unknown to the country at large.

When the Democratic Convention met at Baltimore on June 1, 1852, there were present men who still hoped that he might yet be the Democratic candidate, and only waited the opportunity to press his claim. There were many candidates in the field; chief among them were the distinguished politicians Lewis Cass, James Buchanan, William L. Marcy, and Stephen A. Douglas. It was no easy matter, with so many good men to choose from, to come to a decision. There was at first no thought of Pierce, but on the fourth day of the Convention his name

was brought up, and it was at once seen that he had many supporters both in the North and the South. It was not, however, until the forty-ninth ballot that he became the unanimous choice of the Democrats. The selection was a surprise to the leaders of his party and to the nation at large. Frederick Bancroft, in his life of William H. Seward, gives what were very probably the reasons for the ultimate choice falling on a man whose political career had not been peculiarly brilliant, and who had no great war record with which to appeal to the passions of the voters.

"Before the Democratic convention met . . . a circular letter had been addressed to the leading candidates for nomination by that party, asking them to state their present and prospective attitudes towards the compromise. They hastened to make the most positive answers, even promising to veto any attempt on the part of Congress to weaken the fugitive-slave law. This over-pledging, together with the requirement of a two-thirds vote for a choice, resulted in the abandonment of the well-known leaders—Cass, Buchanan, Marcy and Douglas—and the selection of the inconspicuous and unpledged Franklin Pierce. William R. King, of Alabama, was named for the second place. The most important resolution in the platform promised to resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.. Although Pierce had served in the Legislature of New Hampshire, in both Houses of Congress, and in the Mexican war, and was a lawyer of much more than average ability, he had no great reputation outside his native State. He declared that the prin-

ciples of the platform commanded his approval, and that no word or act of his had been in conflict with them."

Two weeks after his nomination the Whig party met at Baltimore to select a candidate. The choice lay between Fillmore, Webster and Scott. Webster was immeasurably the ablest man, but Scott was selected and Webster, the greatest of modern orators, a man whose glowing words had burned themselves on the hearts of thousands, and whose speeches have still power to stir the pulse of twentieth-century readers, left the convention a broken-hearted man. There is no sadder spectacle in American history than the bid made by the Whig party for power on this occasion; all suffered for their cowardice and littleness of soul, but chief among the sufferers was Daniel Webster. Goldwin Smith has said of him: "He who had been the stately champion of freedom, of liberty of opinion, and of right, now, to attract Southern votes, stood forth as the defender of slavery, of the fugitive-slave law and the gag. He derided the anti-slavery doctrine as a ghostly abstraction, and descended almost to buffoonery in ridiculing the idea of a law higher than that which ordained the hunting down of fugitive bondsmen. His character, to which friends of freedom in the North had long looked up, fell with a crash like that of a mighty tree, of a lofty pillar, of a rock that for ages had breasted the waves. Some minds willing to be misled he still drew after him, but the best of his friends turned from him and his life ended in gloom."

At the election which followed there were really no great issues dividing the parties. Whigs and Democrats were alike playing for the Southern vote.

The South did not trust the Whigs, and it had perfect confidence that the Democratic party would live up to its resolution to "resist all attempt at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempts may be made." In the North Pierce was known as a man of clean hands, and from the beginning it was clear that his election was assured. Twenty-seven States stood by him with their two hundred and fifty-four electors, whereas the Whigs were able to carry but four States with forty-two electors, —and so the great Whig party disappeared from history.

During the campaign there were no divisions or jealousies among the Democrats. The men who had been ambitious for the Presidency worked energetically for the election of Pierce. Marcy was one of the most active workers, although he had no very exalted opinion of the powers of Pierce. The following extract from a letter to Buchanan immediately after the nomination is an excellent indication of the esteem in which Pierce was held by his fellow politicians:

"What do you think of the nomination of General Pierce? For our own State, I think it is about as well as any other that could have been made. I do not like to make an exception. We cannot make much out of his military services, but he is a likeable man, and has as much of 'Young America' as we want."

Buchanan had very much the same opinion, and in a letter to Mr. John Binns shows that he held Pierce but lightly. "General Pierce," he writes, "is a sound radical Democrat of the old Jeffersonian School, and possesses highly respectable abilities. I

think he is firm and energetic, without which no man is fit to be President. Should he fall into proper hands, he will administer the government wisely and well." When Buchanan faced the electors in Pennsylvania, however, there was no note of doubt in his address in favour of Pierce and against General Scott. A portion of it, uttered to catch the crowd, is an excellent presentation of the character of Franklin Pierce.

"The leopard cannot change his spots and why should we not all be united in support of Franklin Pierce? It is his peculiar distinction, above all other public men within my knowledge, that he has never had occasion to take a single step backwards. What speech, vote, or sentiment of his whole political career has been inconsistent with the purest and strictest principles of Jeffersonian democracy? Our opponents, with all their vigilance and research, have not been able to discover a single one. His public character as a Democrat is above all exception. In supporting him, therefore, we shall do no more than sustain in his person our dear and cherished principles.

"Our candidate, throughout his life, has proved himself to be peculiarly unselfish. The offices and honours which other men seek with so much eagerness, have sought him only to be refused. He has either positively declined to accept, or has resigned the highest stations which the Federal government or his own State could bestow upon him.

"Indeed, the public career of General Pierce is so invulnerable that it has been scarcely seriously assaulted. Our political opponents have, therefore, in perfect desperation, been driven to defame his private character. At first, they denounced him as a

drunkard, a friend of the infamous and anti-Catholic test in the Constitution of New Hampshire, and a coward. In what have these infamous accusations resulted? They have already recoiled upon their inventors. The poisoned chalice has been returned to their own lips. No decent man of the Whig party will now publicly venture to repeat these slanders.

"Frank Pierce a coward! That man a coward, who, when his country was involved in a foreign war, abandoned a lucrative and honourable profession and all the sweets and comforts of domestic life in his own happy family, to become a private volunteer in the ranks! And why a coward?

"According to the testimony of General Scott himself, he was in such a sick, wounded, and enfeebled condition, that he was just able to keep his saddle! Yet his own gallant spirit impelled him to lead his brigade into the bloody battle of Cherubusco. But his exhausted physical nature was not strong enough to sustain the brave soul which animated it, and he sank insensible on the field in front of his brigade. Was this evidence of cowardice? These circumstances, so far from being an impeachment of his courage proved conclusively that he possesses that high quality in an uncommon degree. Almost any other man, nay, almost any other brave man, in his weak and disabled condition, would have remained in his tent; but the promptings of his gallant and patriotic spirit impelled him to rush into the midst of the battle. To what length will not party rancour and malignity proceed when such high evidences of indomitable courage are construed into proofs of cowardice? How different was General Scott's opinion from that of the revilers of Franklin Pierce! It was on this very occasion that he con-

ferred on him the proud title of the 'gallant Brigadier-General Pierce'."

As a result of the weakness of the great Whig party and the solid support of the South with the best elements in the North, Franklin Pierce became President of the United States at a time when no great questions were agitating the people; but the air was heavy with trouble, and each day the bitter feeling between the North and the South was growing more intense. It only needed a torch to make the greatest conflagration of the century.

CHAPTER III.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE (*Concluded*).

FRANKLIN PIERCE had a busy winter after his election to the Presidency. His law business had grown to very great proportions, and he had to do a good deal of straightening out before going to Washington. During this winter he met with what was in many ways the greatest sorrow of his life. While on a short journey with his wife and son, a promising lad of thirteen, a railway accident, a very common thing in those days, occurred, and his boy was crushed to death. On this occasion he performed a characteristic act. His wife had not seen the tragedy, and her husband threw his cloak over the body of the boy to cover the ghastly sight from her gaze. It would be impossible not to like Franklin Pierce, no matter how much one might differ from him.

He was inaugurated on March 4, and in his address showed, with no uncertain note, where he stood. He was a lover of the Union, a State Rights man, and spoke vigorously against the abolitionist movement, and expressed a hope that "no sectional or ambitious or fanatical excitement might again threaten the durability of our institutions, or obscure the light of our prosperity." No doubt he determined to do his duty to the Union, but unfortu-

nately, with all his goodness of heart, his vision was limited. He saw but one-half of the question. He recognized that the North by its agitation might bring about civil strife, but he did not seem to see that the Pro-slavery party of the South were determined ultimately to make the whole of the Union a home for slavery, to legislate in the interests of the slave-holders, and by fair means or foul to maintain and extend the right of ownership of human beings. He saw the institutions over which he was placed threatened, and without himself pronouncing in favour of slavery, he thought the remedy to be in submitting to the dictates of the Southern slave-holders, who, while professing to wish to "let well enough alone" and to abide by the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850, were in reality on the watch to extend slave influence. It is impossible in commencing the consideration of the term of President Pierce, who by his anti-abolitionist attitude did much to prepare the way for the Civil war, not to recall the words of Jefferson, who, when his country was beginning her life as a nation, had proposed that slavery be abolished at the end of the century. Shortly after his proposal was voted down by a majority of an individual vote he declared that: "The voice of a single individual would have prevented this abominable crime; Heaven will not always be silent; the friends of the rights of human nature will in the end prevail."

The voice of a single individual might have saved the nation in 1854, when the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was the torch being applied to the inflammable material in the South and the North, but the President alone was the individual who could have averted the calamity that was preparing for his country; but

in his narrow vision he was unable to see where the wrong lay. He abetted the sin of slavery, and opposed in season and out of season the efforts of the Abolitionists. However, there is one thing that can be said on his behalf, he was ever consistent and from the beginning to the end of his career "took no step backwards."

Three days after his inauguration he announced his cabinet. It was found to have a decidedly Southern and pro-slavery complexion, but was a strong one. William L. Marcy, of New York, was his Secretary of State; James Guthrie, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Robert McClelland, of Michigan, Secretary of the Interior; James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; and Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

In December the President sent a message to Congress dealing with the Compromise of 1850 in which he showed how determined he was to prevent any change in the existing laws in favour of the anti-slavery movement. He had found the nation in a state of peace and this peace he declared in his message "is to suffer no shock during my term of office, if I have the power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured." But peace meant acquiescence in slave institutions as they then existed, and he might as well have endeavored to turn back Niagara as to stem the growing flood of anti-slavery principles. His attitude, however, on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, over which the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery parties began to struggle almost as soon as he was installed in office at Washington, showed that

he was far from being impartial, and that his sympathies were decidedly with the South. While this is true he thought he was, and endeavored to be, without bias, and felt himself forced to take a strong stand against the Free-soilers on account of the fanaticism of the leaders in the abolition movement—a movement which he feared would end in the secession of the South.

Pierce was scarcely familiar with the work of his high office before the initial movement of the storm, which finally terminated in the Civil war, began. Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, the "Little Giant," was probably the most disappointed man among the many candidates who were rejected at the Baltimore Democratic Convention of 1852. He was not cast down by defeat, however, and at once looked about him for a way of bringing himself prominently before the public and particularly before the South. Before Pierce became President of the United States a bill had been presented to the House for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska, but the bill failed and was laid on the table by a vote of twenty-three to seventeen. Douglas saw in the situation in Nebraska an excellent opportunity for bringing himself before the nation and a sure means of ingratiating himself with the Southerners. The Missouri Compromise, forbidding slavery north of 36 degrees 30 minutes and the Compromise of 1850, making slavery optional in all new States had left matters in a somewhat chaotic condition. After considerable modification he placed before the President his Kansas-Nebraska Bill which "pronounced the Missouri Compromise explicitly void", and divided Nebraska into two territories, Nebraska and Kansas. It likewise established "squatter" sovereignty.

The amendment to the original bill, by breaking down the anti-slavery law north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, left the door open for bitter strife between North and South. The anti-slavery barrier was, it declared, "Inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the Legislation of 1850 (commonly called the Compromise Measures)." It declared it "inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way subject only to the Constitution." After a hot and bitter debate the Bill passed the House on May 22, by 113 to 100, and the Senate on May 26, without a di ision. Four days later the President signed the bill and by that stroke of his pen hastened the Civil war.

In a way his signing of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was a brave act. He gained, it is true, the staunch support of the South, but the storm of abuse that had been levelled at Douglas and his bill in the North must have told him that by his action he would alienate his best friends, and that even his enthusiastic admirers in his own State would turn from him. He believed he was doing right, and hoped that the slavery question would now be forever settled. The Northerners thought the bill but a Southern plot to spread slavery throughout the entire country; Pierce believed that it would still be limited to the South, and that by making slavery a matter for the consideration of each State the Union would be more surely based than it had been at any time in the century. While he showed courage in signing the

bill in the face of the Northern opposition he should have seen through the designs of Douglas and Jefferson Davis, and opposed it. That "The Little Giant" should propose such a measure, that it should receive the approval of Jefferson Davis, should have been sufficient to make him wary. Douglas was evidently bidding for the Southern vote, and Jefferson Davis, who had opposed the Compromise of 1850, must have seen in the new measure a means of extending slavery. President Pierce's action caused him to be execrated in the North; only one man, Senator Douglas, received more abuse.

The bill, however, was signed and the struggle began in Kansas. The anti-slavery party rushed emigrants into the State and founded towns; and the pro-slavery men of Missouri were equally active. Andrew H. Reeder was appointed Governor of Kansas, and as Reeder had anti-slavery tendencies this should have been sufficient to show that Pierce had no intention of giving Kansas into the hands of the pro-slavery party. Almost at once civil strife began. At the election which followed toughs were rushed across the border from Missouri with revolvers and bowie knives in their hands to deposit their votes against the Abolitionists. The fraudulent character of the election was so evident that Governor Reeder, a fair-minded man with but little backbone, refused to ratify the election, but he was forced to do so in many cases at the revolver's point. Reeder was recalled, but there was no cessation in the strife. The Missouri mob was determined to have their way. Their leaders had said they would "enter every election district in Kansas, and vote at the point of the bowie knife and revolver. Neither give or take quarter as our case demands it. It is enough that

the slave-holding interests will it,—from which there is no appeal." They succeeded by this means in electing a pro-slavery legislature, and this bogus legislature the Pierce government recognized.

The Free-soilers were not to be outdone and vigorously battled against the Missouri mob. They passed a resolution against the "bandits of Missouri," declaring "that the body of men who for the past two months had been passing laws for the people of our Territory, moved, counselled, and dictated to by the demagogues of Missouri, are to us a foreign body representing only the lawless invaders who elected them, and not the people of the Territory. That we repudiate their actions as the monstrous consummation of an act of violence, usurpation and fraud, unparalleled in the history of the Union." Their petition to the Federal government was unheeded. The President issued a proclamation declaring "that the legislature must be recognized as the legitimate legislature of Kansas; that its laws were binding on the people, and that, if necessary, the whole force of the government's army would be rallied to enforce those laws." Pierce in this proclamation stood on the letter of the Constitution and acted in, what he considered, the best interests of the Union, but in taking the stand he did he practically ended his career as a statesman. That he was firmly convinced that the danger to the Union lay from the fanaticism of the anti-slavery party and not from the South is evidenced from his letter written to Jefferson Davis as late as January 18, 1860.

"Without discussing the question of right, or abstract power to secede I have never believed that actual disruption of the Union can occur without bloodshed; and if, through the madness of Northern Abo-

litionists, that dire calamity must come, the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely, it will be within our own borders, in our own streets, between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred . . . I have tried to impress upon our own people, especially in New Hampshire and Connecticut, where the only elections are to take place during the coming spring, that, while our Union meetings are all in the right direction and well enough for the present, they will not be worth the paper upon which their resolutions are written unless we can overthrow abolitionism at the poles and repeal the unconstitutional and obnoxious laws which in the cause of 'personal liberty' have been placed upon our statute books."

After this letter it would be impossible to doubt that throughout his whole presidential career he had acted conscientiously. He saw in the Abolitionist movement elements that tended to the disruption of the Union. He took his stand on the constitution, and as he was never filled with horror at the abomination of slavery he had no sympathy with the movement against it in the North. The times needed a strong far-seeing man; a great crisis was approaching and had the right man, a Washington, or a Lincoln, been at the head of affairs at the time of the Kansas difficulties the bloody Civil war might have been averted; but the encouragement the slave-holders received from Pierce and his successor Buchanan made them confident.

It must have seemed to the leaders of the pro-slavery party that the President and his ministers had deliberately entered into their plot to defeat the Free-soilers in Kansas. It had been proved beyond a doubt that the most corrupt practices were used to

elect the Territorial legislature, that Reeder's certificates of "duly elected" had been forced from him, that the electors were not *bona fide* citizens of Kansas for the most part; but the President would not listen to the fanatical agitation, as he deemed it, of the anti-slavery movement. Instead of making any effort to do Kansas justice he declared that he would "exert the whole power of the Federal Executive to support public order in the Territory" (which meant the supremacy of the pro-slavery party), "to vindicate its laws, whether Federal or local, against all attempts of organized resistance; and so to protect its people in the establishment of their own institutions, undisturbed by encroachments from without, and in the enjoyment of the rights of self-government, assured to them by the Constitution and the organic act of Congress." As Frederic Bancroft says in his *Life of Seward*: "This was understood as a pledge to 'vindicate' the pro-slavery party and suppress the free-state opposition, if possible."

The real effect of the President's attitude was to intensify the hatred between the North and the South, to hasten the Civil war, which he saw would almost inevitably be the outcome of this struggle, by making the South over-confident and by rousing the most apathetic in the North to take a stand against the injustice being done in the name of the Constitution to their friends in Kansas.

This struggle in Kansas was the most important event of President Pierce's term of office. There can be little doubt that the Bill of which it was the outcome, was conceived by Douglas in a spirit of ambition; but history has proved that it was sanctioned by Pierce without selfish motives, and with the hope of forever settling the slave difficulty.

Stephen A. Douglas in a speech delivered at Springfield, Illinois, June 10, 1857, (on the *Kansas and 'Squatter Sovereignty'*) very well voices the position of Pierce on this question. So far as Douglas himself was concerned he deliberately played into the hands of the South with the hope that when the time for the nomination of the next president came round he would be the choice of the rich and influential slave-holders.

"The organic act secures to the people of Kansas," he said, "the sole and exclusive right of forming and regulating their domestic institutions to suit themselves, subject to no other limitation than that which the Constitution imposes. The Democratic party is determined to see the great fundamental principles of the organic act carried out in good faith. The present election law in Kansas is acknowledged to be fair and just, the rights of the voters are clearly defined and the exercise of those rights will be efficiently and scrupulously protected. Hence, if the majority of the people of Kansas desire to have it a free State (and we are told by the Republican party that nine-tenths of that Territory are free-statemen), there is no obstacle in the way of bringing Kansas into the Union as a free State, by the vote and voice of our own people, and in conformity with the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, provided all the free Statesmen will go to the poles and vote their principles in accordance with their professions. If such is not the result, let the consequences be visited upon the heads of those whose policy it is to produce strife, anarchy, and bloodshed in Kansas, that their party may profit by slavery agitation in the Northern States of this Union. That the Democrats in Kansas will perform their duties fearlessly and nobly

according to the principle they cherish I have no doubt; and that the result of the struggle will be such as will gladden the heart and strengthen the hopes of every friend of the Union, I have every confidence."

As a result of this Bill, conceived in ambition, and nurtured in ignorance, "strife, anarchy, and bloodshed" continued in Kansas and did not cease till the continent was deluged with blood. However out of it all good came: strong men were brought forth, a difficult question was forever settled, and to the people of the Union was given a national pride and spirit which a great war and the sacrifices it entails alone seem able to create.

While this struggle was taking place in America, England and France had taken up arms against Russia and the Crimean war was at its height. England needed recruits, and Mr. Crampton the British Minister to the United States had been a partner to recruiting soldiers for the British army. With commendable promptness Pierce demanded that Mr. Crampton be recalled, and when the British government failed to take action he very properly "dismissed the Minister, and the British Consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati for their complicity in such enlistments." The British government recognized the justice of President Pierce's course and Mr. Crampton was recalled.

This was not the only cause for bitter feeling between England and the United States during President Pierce's term of office. The Monroe Doctrine and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, of which so much has been heard during the past decade, were playing an important part in international affairs in the fifties. Great Britain maintained that the Clayton-

Bulwer Treaty in no way restricted her previous claims in America. "She continued to insist that the treaty was only prospective and did not affect any of her possessions at the time of its adoption." For a time it looked as if war would be declared between England and the United States, but fortunately the war cloud blew over. Throughout this dispute President Pierce showed great firmness, and war was only averted by England conceding to his demands. Had war broken out at that time the whole course of history might have been changed; in a common cause the North and South might have seen the need of standing shoulder to shoulder instead of flying at each other's throats; and the United States might have been forced, in the middle of the century, to take her place in European politics instead of waiting till the last decade of the century to be known as an imperial power.

During this presidential term, too, Cuba was to play an important part. The nearness of Spanish rule to the United States was obnoxious even then to the people of America. There was a feeling that the island should be brought into the Union, and to bring matters to a head James Buchanan, Minister to England, John G. Mason, Minister to France, and Pierre Soulè, Minister to Spain, met at Ostend to endeavor to come to some conclusion with regard to Cuba. As a result of their conference they issued their famous "Ostend Letter" which, while lacking diplomatic fineness, showed Europe that the people of the young republic over the ocean were not lacking in self-assurance.

"But if Spain," they said, "deaf to the voice of her own interests, and actuated by a stubborn pride and a false sense of honour, should refuse to sell

Cuba to the United States then the question would arise, what ought to be the course of the American government under such circumstances? Self-preservation, is the first law of nature with States as well as with individuals. All nations have at different periods acted on this maxim. . . . The United States has never acquired a foot of territory except by fair purchase, or, as in the case of Texas, upon the free and voluntary application of the people of that independent State, who desired to blend their destinies with our own. Even our acquisitions from Mexico are no exception to the rule, because, although we might have claimed them by the right of conquest, in a just war, yet we purchased them for what was then considered by both parties a full and ample equivalent. Our past history forbids that we should acquire the island of Cuba without the consent of Spain, unless justified by the great law of self-preservation. We must in any event, preserve our own conscious rectitude and our own self-respect.

"While pursuing this course, we can afford to disregard the censure of the world, to which we have been so often and so unjustly exposed. After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, does Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union? Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, we should be justified in rescuing it from Spain if we possess the power. And this, upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbor if there were no other means of preventing the flames from destroy-

ing his own home. Under such circumstances, we ought neither to count the cost nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us."

This was too much for President Pierce and Cuba was to rest *in statu quo* for some years, torn and tortured by absolutism and rebellion. It was well that it should be so. The United States had first to settle her own sectional difficulties before beginning her imperial career. Had she taken over Cuba in 1854 she would very probably have been plunged into a long and cruel war on that island. It was best that Spain should continue to torture poor Cuba till the world was forced to recognize the justice of American interference, and till the United States had reached that high state of civilization that makes her the most worthy of all the nations to take up "the white man's burden."

While Pierce held office he had to deal with several other questions of importance. A reciprocity treaty with Canada was signed by Lord Elgin and William L. Marcy, June 5, 1854, which "provided for a free exchange of the products of the sea, the fields, the forests and the mine. It admitted Americans to the rich Canadian fisheries and to the advantages of Canadian river and canal navigation. . . Its provisions were to remain in force for ten years, after which either party to the agreement was left free to end it by giving one year's notice." Japan that mysterious little kingdom in the Eastern seas opened her doors to American trade during the same term and began the career that was to make her the one Eastern nation to win the respect of the great Powers, and, indeed, in time to take her place among them.

It will be noted how important this presidential

term was. It paved the way for the Civil war, it brought prominently before the world the Monroe Doctrine and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, it directed the eyes of the nation towards Cuba, it established a treaty with Canada which tended towards the commercial union of the continent, it encouraged transatlantic traffic,—and in every situation Franklin Pierce proved himself firm and wise, save in the matter of the Kansas-Nebraska trouble.

He had taken his stand in every case on the Constitution, and as a result had made many bitter enemies in the North and had lost much of his hold on the South. At the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, June 2, 1856, although he had many supporters it soon became evident that his party did not think him capable of carrying the country and after spirited balloting between James Buchanan, who had been abroad during the Kansas-Nebraska struggle, and Stephen A. Douglas, who had fathered the obnoxious Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Buchanan was, on the seventeenth ballot, on the fifth day of the Convention, unanimously declared the nominee of the Democrats.

When his term of office closed ex-President Pierce retired to his Concord home. Many of the men who had sworn by him when he went as President to Washington, now turned from him with intense hatred, but he kept on his way "unshaked of motion" warning the nation of the maelström of war into which it was drifting and still blaming the Abolitionists for causing the bitter strife.

When at length the Southern States began to secede, and when the voice of war was heard in the land the noble, patriotic nature of the man made itself evident to all. He was a Unionist, and to the

citizens of New Hampshire he delivered a speech for the Union and against secession with all his old time vigour. He had favored the South until this crisis was reached, but now that the Southerners had drawn the sword and threatened to sever the nation in twain he would prove his consistency by standing by the Union. He lived long enough to see the Union triumph and his country rising from the horrors of civil strife to begin again her great career of commercial prosperity, which is unparalleled in the history of the world. His declining years were happy and peaceful and when he died on October 8, 1869, he was genuinely mourned by a host of admiring friends. And he was worthy of their love. He had sustained defeats, the loss of friends, the loss of his children, the death of his wife with a calmness which showed a well poised character and a life with a lofty ideal and lofty hopes.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN.

(One Administration, 1857-1861.)

James Buchanan was in many ways like his immediate predecessor in the Presidency, Franklin Pierce. He was a man of fine manners, of noble appearance, a professed lover of the Constitution and the Union; but a believer in what the pro-slavery party claimed to be their rights, a more thorough believer than Pierce, and such a man was the worst possible, as events proved, to be at the head of affairs at the critical time when Kansas was in a state of turmoil and the difficulties there were hurrying the nation into civil strife.

Scarcely had the great war of the Revolution been definitely brought to a close by the signing of the Treaty of Paris by David Hartley for Great Britain and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay for the United States than the eyes of the struggling toilers on the European side of the Atlantic were turned across the stormy ocean; and, despite the terrors of the long voyage, thousands made preparations to leave the hard conditions under which they toiled in the old world to seek homes for themselves in the wildernesses of the new.

Among the first of the immigrants to come to the

United States after the Revolutionary war was James Buchanan, the father of the fifteenth President of the United States, a sturdy young Scotch-Irish farmer from the County of Donegal. With regard to this man and his wife an excellent account has been left the world in an autobiographical sketch by their illustrious son, which is as much a revelation of the character of President Buchanan as of his parents.

"My father, James Buchanan," he writes, "was a native of the County Donegal, in the Kingdom of Ireland. His family was respectable; but their pecuniary circumstances were limited. He emigrated to the United States before the date of the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, having sailed from —— in the brig "Providence," bound for Philadelphia, in 1783. He was then in the twenty-second year of his age. Immediately after his arrival in Philadelphia, he proceeded to the house of his maternal uncle, Mr. Joshua Russell, in York County. After spending a short time there, he became an assistant in the store of Mr. John Tom, at Stony Batter, a country place at the foot of the North Mountain, then in Cumberland (now in Franklin County).

"He commenced business for himself, about the beginning of the year 1788; and on the 16th of April in the same year, was married to Elizabeth Speer. My father was a man of practical judgment, and of great industry and perseverance. He had received a good English education, and had that kind of knowledge of mankind which prevented him from being ever deceived in his business. With these qualifications, with the facility of obtaining goods on credit at Baltimore at that early period, and with

the advantages of his position, it being one of a very few spots where the people of the Western counties came with pack horses loaded with wheat to purchase and carry home salt and other necessities, his circumstances soon improved. He bought the Dunwoodie farm for £1500 in 1794, and had previously purchased the property on which he resided at the Cove Gap.

"I was born at this place on the 23rd of April, 1791, being my father's second child. My father moved from the Cove Gap to Mercersburg, a distance of between three and four miles, in the autumn of 1796 and began business in Mercersburg in the autumn of 1798. For some years before his death, which occurred on the 11th of June, 1821, he had quite a large mercantile business, and devoted much of his time and attention to superintending his farm, of which he was very fond. He was a man of great native force of character. He was not only respected, but loved by everybody who approached him. In his youth, he held the commission of a justice of the peace; but finding himself so overrun with the business of this office as to interfere with his private affairs, he resigned his commission. A short time before his death, he again received a commission of the peace from Governor Hiester. He was a kind father, a sincere friend, and an honest and religious man.

"My mother, considering her limited opportunities in early life, was a remarkable woman. The daughter of a country farmer, engaged in household employment from early life until after my father's death, she yet found time to read much, and to reflect deeply on what she read. She had a great fondness for poetry, and could repeat with ease all

the passages in her favorite authors which struck her fancy. These were Milton, Pope, Young, Cowper, and Thomson. I do not think, at least until a late period of her life, she had ever read a criticism on any one of these authors, and yet such was the correctness of her natural taste that she had selected for herself, and could repeat, every passage in them which has been admired.

"She was a sincere and devoted Christian from the time of my earliest recollection, and had read much on the subject of theology; and what she read once, she remembered forever. For her sons, as they successively grew up, she was a delightful and instructive companion. She would argue with them, and often gain the victory; ridicule them in any folly or eccentricity; excite their ambition, by presenting to them in glowing colours men who had been useful to their country or their kind, as objects of imitation, and enter into all their joys and sorrows. Her earliest habits of laborious industry, she could not be induced to forego—whilst she had anything to do. My father did everything he could to prevent her from laboring in her domestic concerns, but it was all in vain. I have often, during the vacations at school or college, sat in the room with her, and whilst she was (entirely from her choice) busily engaged in homely domestic employments, have spent hours pleasantly and instructively in conversing with her. She was a woman of great firmness of character and bore the afflictions of her later life with Christian philosophy. After my father's death, she lost her two sons, William and George Washington, two young men of great promise, and a favorite daughter. These afflictions withdrew her affections gradually more and more from the things of this world—and

she died on the 14th of May, 1833, at Greensburg, in the calm but firm assurance that she was going home to her Father and her God. It was chiefly to her influence that her sons were indebted for a liberal education. Under Providence, I attribute any little distinction which I may have acquired in the world to the blessing which He conferred on me in granting me such a Mother."

The Buchanans determined that at least James, of their large family, should have a good education. He received the rudiments of his scholarship at Mercersburg and showed so much promise that great things were expected from him when he went to Dickinson College in his sixteenth year. He was at first, like Franklin Pierce, something of a disappointment to his friends. The age was a peculiarly boisterous one and college life was what might be termed fast. James Buchanan with all his gentleness of disposition seems at first to have thought more of enjoyment and fun than of study; with the result that he drew on himself the anger of the authorities and when the long vacation came round a request was sent to his father not to send him back. But his father had faith in him and used special efforts with the head of the college to have him given another chance. For the remainder of his course he proved himself an excellent student, and as a platform speaker was without an equal in his college.

He graduated in 1809 and at once began the study of law. He recognized that law was to be to him not only a bread-winner, but a gateway to a career, and he applied himself industriously to the dry tomes he found in the office of Mr. Hopkins.

"I determined," he afterwards wrote, "that if severe application would make me a good lawyer, I

should not fail in this particular; and I can say with truth, that I have never known a harder student than I was at that period of my life. I studied law and nothing but law, or what was essentially connected with it. I took pains to understand thoroughly, as far as I was capable, everything which I read; and in order to fix it upon my memory and give myself the habit of extempore speaking, I almost every evening took a lonely walk and embodied the ideas which I had acquired during the day in my own language. This gave me a habit of extempore speaking, and that not merely words but things. I derived great improvement from this practice."

In 1812, when but twenty-one years old, he began the practice of law in Lancaster. Although so young he had already decided views on political questions and was a pronounced Federalist. The year of his majority found his country on the eve of war. He looked upon the War of 1812 as one that should have been avoided, and was opposed to it for a time, even during the reverses of 1812 and 1813; but in 1814 a black hour came to his country. The summer of that year saw a British fleet threatening his native land, and a British army on his native soil. In August after the fight of Bladensburg the British General Ross captured Washington and burned its public buildings. Of this incident, Green the great English historian remarks: "Few more shameful acts are recorded in our history; and it was the more shameful in that it was done under strict orders from the government at home."

This deed, and the fact that both Baltimore and Philadelphia were in danger of a similar fate, roused the young lawyer of Lancaster. A public meeting was held in the town to consider the situation and at

this meeting James Buchanan made his first public address. He was a Federalist and he had been opposed to the war, but the duty of every citizen was now clear; the invader must be beaten back. His words roused his fellow-townsmen and volunteers readily responded to the call to serve in a company of the dragoons which was to be sent to Baltimore to help protect that city. James Buchanan was the first to enrol his name, and for several months served in the ranks.

His patriotic speech was remembered, and when in the autumn it was necessary to select men for the Pennsylvania House of Representatives he was elected by the voters of Lancaster County. Although but twenty-three years old he proved himself an able debater and in his remarks on several important questions showed that he had a thorough grasp of the great issues of his time.

He soon wearied of political life and devoted the whole of his energies to the practice of law and rapidly gained distinction as an erudite and brilliant lawyer. During these early years of his life he won the heart of Ann C. Coleman, but the engagement was broken through some misrepresentations with regard to his character, and when shortly afterwards Miss Coleman died he almost collapsed under the blow. The intensity of the man's nature is shown in his correspondence at this time and in the fact that he remained unwedded, faithful to the memory of his early love. "I would like," he wrote, "to convince the world that she is infinitely dearer to me than life? I may sustain the shock of her death, but I feel that happiness has fled from me forever."

His growing law practice saved him. He became absorbed in his work, and by the time he was thirty

had amassed a goodly fortune. In 1821, he was elected to Congress and for ten years proved himself an able and wise worker in that body. He was a frequent speaker, and was listened to with pleasure by an audience familiar with the golden words of Daniel Webster. His law practice naturally suffered greatly through politics, and in 1831 he had decided to retire altogether from political life, although at this time he was much spoken of as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, when an urgent request from President Jackson, whose admiration and confidence he had won, made him decide to go as Minister to Russia to succeed John Randolph.

The appointment was a good one and Buchanan's suavity of manners, his dignity of character and good judgment did much to make America appreciated by the Russians and to bring about better trade relations between his country and the country of the Czar.

Shortly after he had settled in St. Petersburg, he received word of the death of his brother George, a young man of infinite promise. James Buchanan took his brother's death much to heart and in a letter to his brother Edward on this matter reveals another side of his character.

"St. Petersburg,
Jan. 9th, N. S., 1832.

"My Dear Brother:—

"I have received your three letters of the 10th and 25th of September and of the 12th November: the first on the 21st October, the second not till the 2nd inst., and the last on the 28th December. You will thus perceive that the one announcing the death of poor George had a very long passage, having got out of the usual line and lain at Paris a considerable time.

I had heard of this melancholy event long before its arrival. How consoling it is to reflect that he had made his peace with heaven before he departed from earth. All men desire to die the death of the righteous; but a large portion of the human race are unwilling to lead their life. I can say sincerely for myself that I desire to be a Christian, and I think I could withdraw from the vanities and follies of the world without suffering many pangs. I have thought much upon the subject since my arrival in this strange land, and sometimes almost persuade myself that I am a Christian; but I am often haunted by the spirit of skepticism and doubt: 'Lord, I would believe; help thou my unbelief, yet I am far from being an unbeliever.'"

Neither these words nor the words written at the time of the death of Miss Coleman are the utterances of a strong man. A sweet, a lovable character Buchanan ever was, but he lacked spiritual robustness, the thing most needed in a leader of men. Julian Hawthorne, in his unsympathetic study of Buchanan in his *History of the United States*, has called him a sort of "soft-natured snob." This is unjust; he lacked force and fire, lacked on some questions firmness and decision, but a snob he was not.

When Buchanan returned to the United States, in 1833, it was with the consciousness of having done his duty well and with the approval of the President and the nation for the course he had pursued. Senator Wilkins was appointed Minister to Russia and Buchanan was elected by the State Legislature to fill the vacancy made in the Senate by this appointment. He was now to come very prominently before the country as one of its great politicians. He was throughout his senatorial career a staunch sup-

porter of President Jackson, and frequently crossed swords with such brilliant Whigs as Clay, Webster, Clayton, Ewing, and Frelinghuysen.

While in the Senate he had an opportunity of showing where he stood on the slavery question, and however much he was to blame for the deplorable condition in which the Union found itself when the Southern States began to secede he was consistent on this question throughout his entire life. He had very much the view that Pierce had had of the Abolitionists. When dealing in the Senate with two Memorials from Ohio concerning the abolition of slavery he spoke of the Abolitionists as "desperate fanatics" who were issuing "incendiary pamphlets and papers." The Quakers of Pennsylvania had likewise memorialized Congress on this burning question, and had sent their petition to President Buchanan for presentation. For a time he withheld the memorial, and when at length he did present it made it the occasion for expressing his views on slavery in its relation to the Constitution.

"If any one principle of constitutional law can, at this day be considered as settled, it is, that Congress has no power, no right, over the question of slavery in those States where it exists. The property of the master in his slave existed in full force before the Federal Constitution was adopted. It was a subject which then belonged, as it still belongs, to the exclusive jurisdiction of the several States. These States, by the adoption of the Constitution, never yielded to the general government any right to interfere with the question. It remains where it was previous to the establishment of our Confederacy.

"The Constitution has, in the clearest terms, recognized the right of property in slaves. It prohibits

any State into which a slave may have fled from passing any law to discharge him from slavery, and declares that he shall be delivered up by the authorities of such States to his master. Nay more it makes the existence of slavery the foundation of political power, by giving to those States within which it exists, representatives from Congress, not only in proportion to the number of free persons, but also in proportion to three-fifths of the number of slaves." While speaking thus he declared that on the abstract question of slavery his views were the same as the petitioners.

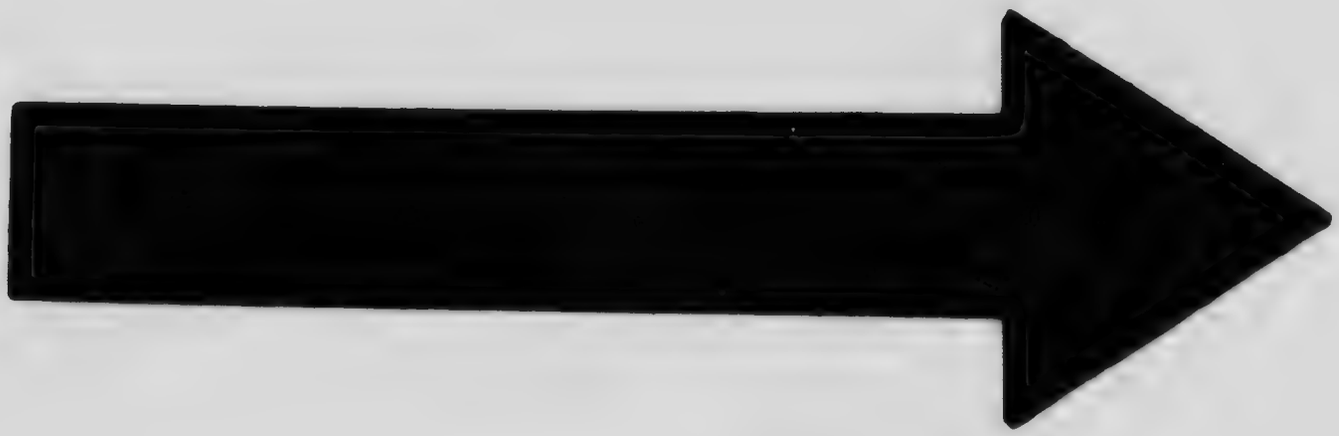
His State had confidence in him and he was reelected in 1837. He continued to attract the attention of the leaders of the government, and as a result was offered the position of Attorney-General in the cabinet of Martin Van Buren, but this position he refused. In 1843 he was elected a third time to the Senate of the United States, and throughout his State he was much spoken of as a possible strong candidate for the Presidency. His attitude on slavery had attracted to him many Southern men, and his sober attitude on the right of petition, a matter on which, as has been pointed out, Pierce showed lamentable weakness, made him friends in the North. While in the Senate he had to pronounce on many critical questions. He opposed the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, and strongly favored the annexation of Texas with the hope that it might be divided into slave States "to afford that serenity to the Southern and South-western States which they have a right to demand."

He had now been in the United States Senate under no fewer than four Presidents, Jackson, Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, and John Tyler.

He had won for himself the reputation of being a fair-minded, courteous politician; but with the election of President Polk and his own appointment as Secretary of State he seems to have become an active partisan. On the defeat of the Democratic party by the Whigs under the leadership of General Zachary Taylor, Buchanan retired to his country seat, Wheatlands. So far his record was a fair one; he had made but few mistakes, and was esteemed by all classes, even his political opponents. Although something of a trimmer on the great questions agitating the nation there was no doubt as to his attitude. He was a staunch upholder of the Monroe Doctrine, he had stood by the sacred right of petition, and, as he said, the older he grew the more he was inclined to be what is called a State Rights man. He could not, however, keep long out of politics. He approved of the Compromise of 1850 and of the Fugitive Slave Laws. When he with Cass and Marcy and Douglas were set aside by the Democratic National Convention which met at Baltimore to choose a nominee for the Presidency, for the little known Franklin Pierce, he became his most active and probably his most influential supporter.

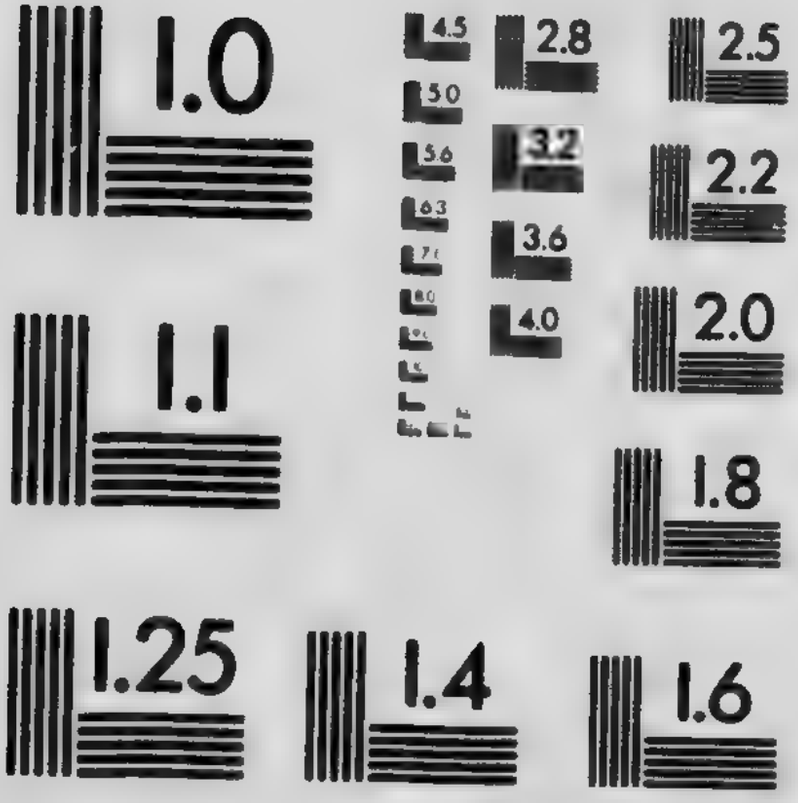
In 1853, when Pierce became installed in the White House he appointed Buchanan Minister to England. A better choice could not have been made; his Russian experience, his suavity and polish all made him a peculiarly well equipped personage to send to the chief of the European Courts.

While the principal work Mr. Buchanan had to do in London was "to develop and ascertain the precise difficulties between the two governments in regard to the construction of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty," his residence in England is memorable chiefly for



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

two things,—the ridiculous discussion as to how an American Minister should appear at Court, and the somewhat astounding Ostend Manifesto.

The Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, had proclaimed that the diplomatic agents of the United States were to wear only "the simple dress of an American citizen." This circular to the diplomatic agents was the occasion of a good many jocular remarks at the time, as to what was the dress of an American citizen, and of considerable embarrassment to the courts and the American Ministers. It looked for a time as though a frock coat was to stop all international relations. But the wise ones trained in European diplomacy put their heads together and a "compromise" was effected. Buchanan could wear the simple dress of an American citizen, but he must so far conform to court usage as to wear at the same time a sword; and so he appeared before Her Majesty in "a black coat, white waistcoat and cravat, and black pantaloons and dress boots, with the addition of a very plain black-hilted dress sword." Mr. Buchanan would have been more admirable had he refused to wear the sword, even if he had run the risk of being mistaken for one of the "upper court servants."

During his residence in England James Buchanan was a general favorite and by his attitude on the international questions that arose won the esteem and confidence of his country. He returned home early in the year 1856, and, although he had at the time little thought of the Presidency, the public welcome he received when he arrived in New York and the enthusiasm with which he was everywhere greeted made him turn his eyes towards Washington, but he put forth no strenuous efforts to secure the nomination for President.

CHATER V.

PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN (*Concluded.*)

On June 2, 1856, the National Democratic Convention met in Cincinnati to select a nominee for President. There were four strong men in the field, —Buchanan, Pierce, Douglas, and Cass. Cass, although an able man, had but few supporters; Douglas had many friends present, but as he had taken the initiative in the Kansas-Nebraska Act, he had made a host of bitter enemies in the North; Pierce had still a large following, but it was evident to many of the candidates that his attitude on the Kansas-Nebraska question would keep him from being sent to Washington for a second term; Buchanan's friends had not the organization of the other candidates and he himself had displayed no eagerness for the nomination, however, it was very soon recognized that he was the man most likely to keep his party in power.

None of the other candidates had as clean a record before the country. He had helped four Presidents to office, and had done more than possibly any other man in the country to elect Polk and Pierce. The Democrats needed Pennsylvania and James Buchanan was the one man capable of keeping that important State in line. His career abroad had been a brilliant one. He was probably the ablest Minister who had served in Europe during the century, and in his dealings with Russia and England

had shown a firmness and wisdom that augured well for his country if he should be sent to the White House. But the thing most in his favour was that during the heated discussion which had gone on for the last three or four years over the Kansas-Nebraska Act he had been abroad and had not been called upon to commit himself on that all-important issue. The Democratic party had undoubtedly lost the North as a whole, but Buchanan stood the best chance among the leaders of the party of still holding a few of the less pronounced anti-slavery States. Again, he was a man most acceptable to the South. He had frequently shown that he was prepared to uphold the institution of slavery on constitutional grounds, and indeed he was believed by many Southerners, especially since the part he played in the Ostend Manifesto, to favour slavery itself. As a result, when the first ballot was taken at the Convention the vote stood Buchanan 135, Pierce 122, Douglas 33, Cass 5. Pierce and Cass soon dropped out of the race and the contest was between Douglas and Buchanan. Buchanan's strength at the beginning came principally from the North, but Slidell and Wise brought many of the Southern delegates to his side, and on the sixteenth ballot Buchanan had 168 and Douglas 122. "The Little Giant" had lost the prize for which he played when he introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but he was not hopeless and still looked forward towards being President of the United States. Buchanan's nomination was, after this ballot, made unanimous.

The Whig party had but little life in it, however. Millard Fillmore was its nominee. A new party, the People's party had arisen, and the candidate of this party was John C. Fremont. The real fight was

between Fremont and Buchanan, but the latter was successful after a very heated campaign by 174 electoral votes to Fremont's 114. With the exception of Maryland the South had stood by Buchanan, but he really owed his election to the Free States—Pennyslvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California. Had they gone against him Fremont would have had a majority. For the future troubles that arose these five States had themselves much to blame.

The platform adopted by the Democratic convention showed clearly where Buchanan stood on the slavery question. It was declared by that convention: "That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; that the foregoing proposition covers the whole subject of the slavery agitation in Congress; that the Democratic party will adhere to a faithful execution of the Compromise measures, the act for reclaiming fugitives from service of labour included; that the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation on the slavery question under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made; and that the American Democratic party recognise and adopt the principle of non-interference by Congress with slavery in State and Territory, or in the District of Columbia."

In his inaugural address, March 4, President Buchanan proved himself either blind to the state of feeling in the Union or that he had wilfully closed his eyes to the growing excitement. It was true that there had been hot words and even blows given and taken during the campaign, but according to him, calm had come to the nation and he was begin-

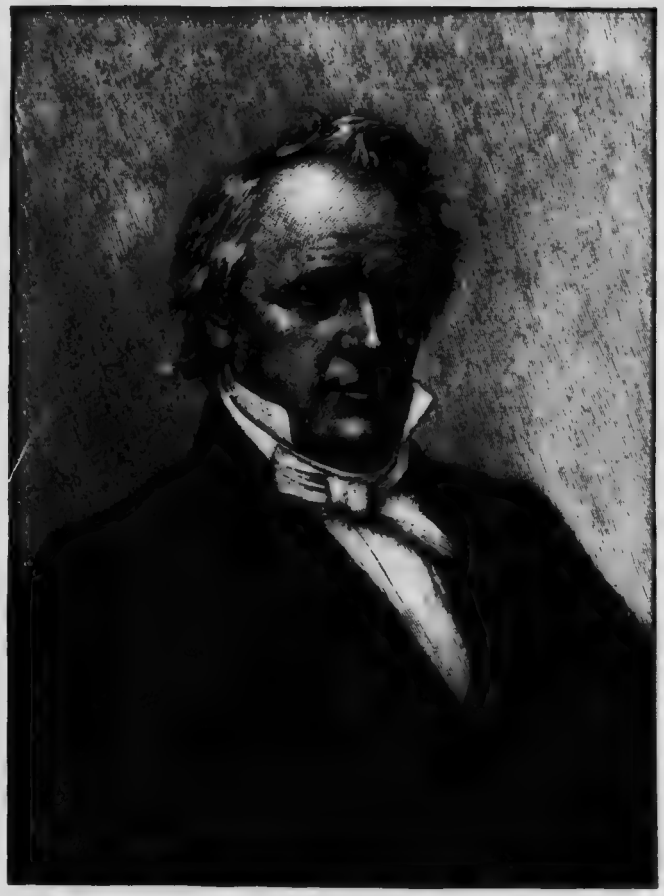
ning his term with fair prospects. It is difficult now to understand how he could have held such a view, and his inaugural address with its trimming and its lack of insight is sufficient to prove him the worst possible man to control the destinies of his country in the most critical moment of her history.

"We have recently," he said, "passed through a presidential contest in which the passions of our fellow citizens were excited to the highest degree by questions of deep and vital importance; but when the people proclaimed their will the tempest at once subsided and all was calm.

"The voice of the majority, speaking in the manner prescribed by the Constitution, was heard, and instant submission followed. Our own country could alone have exhibited so grand and striking a spectacle of the capacity of man for self-government.

"What a happy conception, then, was it for Congress to apply this simple rule, that the will of the majority shall govern, to the settlement of the question of domestic slavery in the Territories; Congress is neither 'to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.'"

Plausible words there, and no doubt the enthusiasm which attended the inaugural services made him think that the tempest was stilled. But he was blind, blind; a storm of righteous indignation was beating against the abominable institution of slavery, and a wise President would have seen that unless he took a decided stand with the North to prevent slavery from spreading to the Free States only civil war could be the result.



JAMES BUCHANAN. 21

He, however, thought the whole matter of when and how slavery should be admitted to the Territories one "of but little practical importance," "a judicial question, which legitimately belongs to the supreme court of the United States, before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled." This belief no doubt gave him great peace of mind, but it blinded him to the preparations the South were even then making to resist the North to the death; and to the bitter feeling in the North that was every day growing more intense and more wide spread.

He did little by his selection of a cabinet to allay the feeling that the country was being placed under the control of the pro-slavery party. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was appointed Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior, and Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney- General.

He was to be tested as soon as he took up office. He had touched on the celebrated Dred Scott affair in his inaugural address, and had said that whichever way the judgment went he would legally uphold it. Scott was sent back to slavery, and the nation had to accept the decision that the Missouri Compromise was illegal and "that a slave could be carried into any Territory without thereby gaining immunity from his status as a slave." Again he was to be tested as Pierce was tested in Kansas. The legislature there had been elected illegally and when Governor Geary, unable to cope with the situation, resigned and R. J. Walker was appointed in his

place it was announced that President Buchanan, as President Pierce had done, would recognise the "mob elected" body. This decision roused the North to a greater pitch of excitement than had existed there at any time since the Douglas Bill was introduced. The Abolitionists had in many cases been extreme, and many of the best minds in the North had kept in the background for fear of being classed among the fanatics, but now they stepped into the breach and forty of them signed the New Haven Memorial which at once gives the situation existing and the feeling of the best element in the North. It was as follows:

"The fundamental principle of the Constitution of the United States, and of our own political institutions, is *that the people shall make their own laws and elect their own rulers.*

"We see with grief, if not with astonishment, that Governor Walker of Kansas openly represents and proclaims that the President of the United States is employing through him an army, one purpose of which is to force the people of Kansas to obey laws not their own, nor of the United States, but laws which it is notorious, and established upon evidence, they never made, and rulers they never elected.

"We represent, therefore, that, by the foregoing, your Excellency is openly held up and proclaimed, to the great derogation of our national character, as violating in its most essential particular the solemn oath which the President has taken to support the Constitution of this Union.

"We call attention further to the fact that your Excellency is in like manner held up to this nation, to all mankind and to all posterity, in the attitude

of levying war against a portion of the United States, by employing arms in Kansas to uphold a body of men, and a code of enactments, purporting to be legislative, but which never had the election, nor the sanction, nor the consent of the people of that Territory.

"We earnestly represent to your Excellency that we also have taken the oath to obey the Constitution; and your Excellency may be assured that we shall not refrain from the prayer that Almighty God will make your administration an example of justice and beneficence, and with His terrible majesty protect our people and our Constitution."

To this memorial the President replied as follows:

"When I entered upon the duties of the presidential office, on the 4th of March last, what was the condition of Kansas? This Territory had been organised under the Act of Congress of 30th of May, 1854; and the government, in all its branches, was in full operation. A Governor, Secretary of the Territory, chief justice, two associate justices, a marshal and district attorney, had been appointed by my predecessor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and were all engaged in discharging their respective duties. A code of laws had been enacted by the Territorial legislature; and the judiciary were employed in expounding and carrying these laws into effect. It is quite true that a controversy had previously arisen respecting the validity of the election of members of the Territorial legislature, and of the laws passed by them; but, at the time I entered upon my official duties, Congress had recognised the legislature in different forms and by different enactments.

"The delegate elected by the House of Representatives under a Territorial law had just completed his term of service on the day previous to my inauguration. In fact, I found the government of Kansas as well established as that of any other Territory.

"Under these circumstances, what was my duty? Was it not to sustain this government? To protect it from the violence of lawless men who were determined either to rule or ruin? To prevent it from being overturned by force? In the language of the Constitution: 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed'? It was for this purpose, and for this alone, that I ordered a military force to Kansas, to act as a *posse comitatus* in aiding the civil magistrate to carry the laws into execution.

"The condition of the Territory at the time, which I need not portray, rendered this precaution absolutely necessary. In this state of affairs would I not have been justly condemned, had I left the marshal and other officers of like character, impotent to execute the process and judgments of courts of justice established by Congress, or by the Territorial legislature under its express authority, and thus have suffered the government itself to become an object of contempt in the eyes of the people? And yet this is what you designate as forcing 'the people of Kansas to obey laws not their own, nor of the United States'; and for doing which you have denounced me as having violated my solemn oath.

"I ask, What else could I have done, or ought I to have done? Would you have desired that I should abandon the Territorial government, sanctioned as it had been by Congress, to illegal violence, and thus renew the scenes of civil war and bloodshed

which every patriot in the country had deplored? This would have been indeed to violate my oath of office, and to fix a damning blot on the character of my administration.

"I most cheerfully admit that the necessity for sending a military force to Kansas to aid in the execution of the civil law reflects no credit upon the character of our country. But let the blame fall upon the heads of the guilty. Whence did the necessity arise? A portion of the people of Kansas, unwilling to trust to the ballot-box—the certain American remedy for the redress of all grievances—undertook to create an independent government for themselves. Had this attempt proved successful, it would of course have subverted the existing government prescribed and recognised by Congress, and substituted a revolutionary government in its stead.

"This was a usurpation of the same character as it would be for a portion of the people of Connecticut to undertake to establish a separate government within its chartered limits, for the purpose of redressing any grievance, real or imaginary, of which they might have complained against the legislative State government. Such a principle, if carried into execution, would destroy all lawful authority and produce universal anarchy.

"I ought to specify more particularly a condition of affairs which I have embraced only in general terms, requiring the presence of a military force in Kansas The Congress of the United States had most wisely declared it to be 'the true intent and meaning of this act' (the act organising the Territory) 'not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regu-

late their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

"As a natural consequence, Congress has also prescribed by the same act, that, when the Territory of Kansas shall be admitted as a State, it 'shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.' Slavery existed at that period, and still exists, in Kansas, under the Constitution of the United States. This point has at last been finally decided by the highest tribunal known to our laws. How it could ever have been seriously doubted is to me a mystery. If a confederation of sovereign states acquire a new territory at the expense of the common blood and treasure, surely one set of the partners can have no right to exclude the other from its enjoyment in prohibiting them from taking into it whatsoever is recognised as property by the common Constitution.

"But when the people, the *bona-fide* residents of such Territory, proceed to frame a State Constitution, then it is their right to decide the important question for themselves—whether they will continue, modify, or abolish slavery. To them, and to them alone, does this question belong, free from all foreign interference. In the opinion of the Territorial legislature of Kansas, the time had arrived for entering the Union; and they accordingly passed a law to elect delegates for the purpose of framing a State Constitution. This law was fair and just in its provisions. It conferred the right of suffrage on 'every *bona-fide* inhabitant of the Territory,' and for the purpose of preventing fraud, and the intrusion of citizens of near or distant States, most prop-

erly confined this right to those who had resided there three months previous to the election.

"Here a fair opportunity was presented for all the qualified resident citizens of the Territory, to whatever organisation they have previously belonged, to participate in the election and to express their opinion at the ballot-box on the question of slavery. But numbers of lawless men still continue the regular Territorial government. They refused either to be registered or to vote, and the members of the convention were elected legally and properly without their intervention.

"The convention will soon assemble to perform the solemn duty of framing a Constitution for themselves and their posterity; and, in the state of incipient rebellion which still exists in Kansas, it is my imperative duty to employ the troops of the United States, should this become necessary, in defending the convention against violence while framing the Constitution; and in protecting the *bona-fide* inhabitants qualified to vote under the provisions of this instrument in the free exercise of the right of suffrage, when it shall be submitted to them for their approbation or rejection.

"Following the wise example of Mr. Madison towards the Hartford Convention, illegal and dangerous combinations, such as that of the Topeka Convention, will not be disturbed unless they shall attempt to perform some act which will bring them into actual collision with the Constitution and the laws."

While in the internal Government of his country Buchanan seemed to show a great lack of insight, in international affairs his record was a brilliant one. His diplomatic training peculiarly fitted him for

dealing with the European powers, and had he not been thwarted by the Senate he might have accomplished much greater things than he did. He had been sent to England by the Pierce administration to endeavour to settle the difficulties that had arisen concerning the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The Crimean war had dwarfed all other issues, and he had been able to accomplish but little; however, he now gained his point and for some years at least the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was to cease to trouble the nation.

England, it will be remembered, had occasioned the War of 1812 largely by her arrogant assertion of the right of search. She again saw an opportunity of asserting a similar right. She had now taken her stand against the slave trade, and claimed the right of searching merchant vessels in time of peace to see if they were engaged in this nefarious traffic. For this purpose she sent cruisers to search the seas in the vicinity of Cuba. Buchanan denied the right and promptly sent a strong fleet to sea "to protect all vessels of the United States on the high seas from search or detention by vessels of any other nation." England was wrong and recognised it, and reluctantly withdrew her vessels. Buchanan had acted in this matter solely with the intention of upholding the honour of his country, but many of the fanatics of the anti-slavery party interpreted his action to mean that he did not desire to have the slave trade interfered with.

In 1858, a satisfactory treaty was concluded with China. His strong policy with Paraguay gained him the admiration of the country; and but for the Republican majority in the Senate the wise recommendations he made with regard to Mexico would

have been adopted. The Spanish question, too, he handled in such a way as to promise a happy settlement of the great difficulties between the two powers, but again he was thwarted, and through the Senate failed, perhaps, to avert the difficulties which at length culminated in the Spanish-American war. Had there been no great internal struggle tugging at the vitals of the nation, James Buchanan might have gone down to history as one of the greatest and wisest of rulers. Even in internal affairs he could be strong. The Mormons of Utah were in a state of rebellion against the central government, and at first defied the President and the troops he sent to enforce his commands, but he went at the matter with energy and soon compelled them to obey the administration.

He had found when he took hold of the government that there was much corruption in public affairs, and this he seems to have been unable to check. His enemies managed to have a committee—the Covode Committee—appointed to investigate the alleged corruption, and though much was unearthed it was found that the President's hands were clean. However, a stronger man in the same position would have prevented a great deal that was going on almost under his very eyes.

All through his term of office the storm-cloud in Kansas grew blacker and the President did nothing to avert the calamity that was surely approaching. The Union must be preserved, State Rights must be maintained: this was the burden of his every utterance. Behold, he seemed to say, I have taken my stand on the Constitution! But, alas! it was on the letter of the Constitution and not the spirit, and

never were the words "the letter killeth" better exemplified.

The time was rapidly approaching when it would be necessary to select a new president. Four were nominated and Abraham Lincoln stood before the nation a picturesque, strong and striking leader of the anti-slavery forces. They had united around him. There was no uncertainty in his position. He had declared: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved: I do not expect to see the House to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South." Here was a man about whom to rally, and the anti-slavery party almost to a man declared its intention to stand by him.

It was otherwise with the pro-slavery party. The Northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas, the Southern Democrats John C. Breckinridge, and the "Old Line Whigs" brought forward John Bell of Tennessee. From the commencement of the contest it was evident that Lincoln would be elected. The Southern States, as they saw his majority rolling up, began preparations for war, and threats of secession became more frequent and more determined. It was generally understood that the election of Lincoln would be the signal for immediate secession on the part of at least a number of the Southern States.

At this critical moment President Buchanan showed himself deplorably weak. In his annual message of 1860 he maintained that "a State had no constitutional right to secede and that the Federal government had no constitutional power to prevent secession." Of his attitude Seward said: "It shows conclusively that it is the duty of a President to execute the laws—unless somebody opposes him; and that no State has a right to go out of the Union—unless it wants to." When the secession movement began he had words of blame only for the Abolitionists. "The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States," he said, "has at length produced its natural effects."

The truth is, his whole prejudices were with the South. The polish of the Southern gentlemen attracted him; that he was President was due to their influences, and he was never horrified by the evils of slavery. He was surrounded by ardent pro-slavery men, and John B. Floyd, his Secretary of War, was doing everything in his power to weaken the North and strengthen the South. Troops were scattered throughout the country, and the navy was for the most part on foreign stations. It would have been a difficult task, but an energetic President, even as late as 1860, might have averted the war that was to cost his country nearly a million lives.

There is this, however, to be said on his behalf: the Republicans had a majority in the Senate, and from that august body he received no assistance either in maintaining peace or in executing the laws of his country. But it is to be feared he played deliberately into the hands of his Southern friends. If Senator Keilt can be believed, he was at one with

them. "South Carolina," Keilt said in December, 1860, "cannot take one step backwards now without receiving the curses of posterity. South Carolina, single and alone, is bound to go out of this accursed Union. Mr. Buchanan is pledged to secession, and I mean to hold him to it."

These words had every appearance of truth. He continued to denounce the Northern agitators. He had been warned by General Winfield Scott of the necessity of reinforcing the Federal garrisons in the South, but he paid no heed to the warnings, and when in December South Carolina did finally secede, he opposed it in no way, save that he refused to receive the commissioners sent to him from the seceding State. The rebel flag was now floating to the breeze in Charleston; Major Anderson had withdrawn the garrisons from Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and remained there inactive while the Southerners threw up strong batteries and held him in a state of siege. Federal property was appropriated, the steamer "Star of the West" bringing supplies to Fort Sumter was fired upon, but Mr. Buchanan sat silent in the White House. His Ministers were leaving him, some had deliberately gone over to the rebels, but the best he could do towards maintaining peace was to send a secret message to the secessionists begging them to stay their hand until the end of his administration. It is true he still hoped for peace, and by his action on the Crittenden Compromise showed that he believed the difficulties between the North and the South might yet be averted by constitutional means. However, if his action throughout this critical period is calmly viewed, the words of John Sherman will not seem too severe: "The Constitution provided

against every probable vacancy in the office of president; but did not provide for utter imbecility."

All this time the Confederates were planting batteries and making extensive preparations for war, while the inactivity of the President tied the hands of his officials. He believed he was adhering to the Constitution, however, and refused to receive the commissioners who came to Washington from the Confederate government which was meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, under the Presidency of Jefferson Davis.

No man ever was more rejoiced than was President Buchanan when his term of office closed, and he left to his successor the hardest task ever given to a ruler, more difficult even than the one which fell to the lot of Washington. His last public appearance was on March 4, 1861, when he rode to the Capitol with the President-elect, Abraham Lincoln. There was an ominous silence in the crowd on that day, and everywhere, lining the streets and the housetops and windows, were people who wondered what the morrow would bring forth.

What a contrast the two men presented: the one cultured, polished, noble in appearance, with much of the Old World refinement and the Old World prejudice still clinging to him; the other ungainly, awkward, trained in the rough life of the frontier, a genuine product of the New World. Slavery was the last remnant of the Old World that clung to the new; it required such a man as Lincoln, a child of this continent, to give it its death blow.

Buchanan now passed off the stage. He retired to Wheatlands to rest for the remainder of his days. He felt the war keenly, and in a feeble way spoke on behalf of the Union. With the words, "O Lord,

God Almighty, as Thou wilt!" he died on June 1, 1868. Thus passed away the pure-minded, noble-hearted gentleman who was "never heard to express an ignoble sentiment" or seen "do an act that could diminish the respect and reverence" of those living daily with him. He was undoubtedly the weakest of all the Presidents of the United States, but he had been tried as no other President was tried, save Washington and Lincoln; they stood the test but he was found wanting.

It would seem that each century of a country's history can produce but one man capable of grappling with a great crisis; Washington, in the eighteenth century, was to firmly base his young country, Lincoln was to save it from wreck in the nineteenth: both situations needed men of blood and iron; the plausible manners of a courtier such as Buchanan was were a poor substitute for these essentials in a great ruler.

CHAPTER VI.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(Two Administrations, 1861-1865, 1865.)

In 1860, the United States was sorely in need of a strong man. The most important nation in the world (for is not the United States the hope of the world) needed reconstructing. For eighty years the country had been drifting towards the rocks which the Constitution had not provided against; for eighty years the sins of the fathers who had fostered for gain the abomination of slavery were preparing to visit the children to the third and fourth generation. Chaos was necessary, it would seem, before a new state of things, with new principles, new moral fibre in the rulers, could be built up. While many minds would of necessity aid in this great work it demanded one man of commanding genius, of unswerving integrity, of indomitable steadfastness of purpose to firmly base on the chaos made by war the noblest nation yet reared by humanity.

Literally sprung from the soil, a product of the backwoods,—by unremitting industry, by ever keeping his heart right, Abraham Lincoln was to rank with Simon de Montfort, Cromwell, Richelieu, Washington, Bismarck and D'Israeli. In a way he was greater than any one of these for he possessed the

love of liberty of De Montfort and Cromwell, the diplomacy of Richelieu, the integrity of Washington, the firmness of Bismarck, the readiness of wit of D'Israeli,—and to these qualities he added the heart of a Burns.

This many-sided man was born on February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. His forebears, however, were of good old Virginian stock. His great-grandfather, John Lincoln, was a well-to-do land-owner in Virginia, and, when he died, made it possible by the goodly heritage he left his five sons for each of them to become influential citizens of Virginia; but already the West was attracting adventurous spirits. The daring deeds of Daniel Boone and other frontiersmen were becoming familiar to the boys along the Atlantic border.

Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of the President, seems to have been attracted by the stories of adventures with the savage beasts and more savage men of the interior of the continent, and the fertile land awaiting the plough of the settlers, and the rich forests that stood ready for the axe. In 1780 he sold his patrimony in Virginia and with his wife and five children moved westward into the very heart of the wilds of Kentucky. For two years this worthy pioneer laboured to cut out a home for himself in the forest, but his career in his new abode was to be a brief one. One day, two years after settling in Kentucky, he was labouring in the forest when a band of savages, who looked with jealous eye on the inroads the settlers were making on their domain, crept upon him and shot him down in sight of his three sons, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas.

The family struggled on, and Thomas, who was four years old at the time of his father's death, grew

to manhood a lover of the woods and fields, an enthusiastic hunter but a poor labourer, with great physical strength and greater physical indolence, and but little intellectual force. He, however, had energy enough to learn the trade of a carpenter. There must have been something attractive about him for he won the hand of Nancy Hanks, a country girl with more than ordinary beauty and intelligence. In studying the character of President Lincoln it will be seen that he inherited many of his characteristics from his father. He, too, possessed great physical strength and likewise a thorough distaste for physical labour. Both were great story-tellers and thoroughly appreciated a good joke, but to these traits he combined the qualities of his mother's finer nature, intellectual keenness and sympathy. Of his parentage Abraham Lincoln was never communicative. With regard to his early life he once said to an enquirer that it was summed up in the immortal line of Gray's Elegy,

"The short and simple annals of the poor."

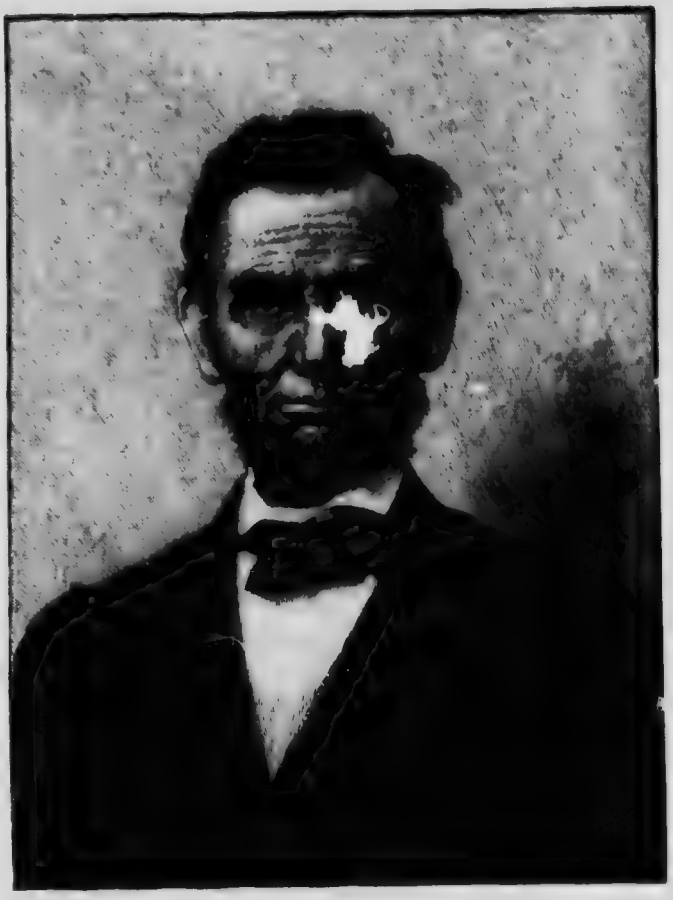
His father when he married Nancy Hanks was so illiterate that he could not read or write, but that was no unusual thing in those days. It is hard to tell just how much schooling Abe received in his Kentucky home, but it could not have been very extensive, as, in his tenth year, after the family had moved to Indiana he was still unable to write. He certainly attended school and knew the educative value of a hazel switch.

However, the limits of Kentucky grew too narrow for the shiftless, roving father; the spirit that had impelled old Abraham to leave the comfortable, settled life of Virginia for the dangers and hardships of the West urged Thomas to try his fortune in the newer

regions of Indiana, and so he moved there with his family in 1816. He threw up a rude shelter of small unhewn logs, a "half-faced camp," a building but fourteen feet square with neither floors nor doors nor windows, and with but three sides enclosed. In this rude building the future occupant of the White House spent his first year in Indiana.

In a way life was pleasant for the Lincolns in their new home. The soil was fertile, the forest abounded in all kinds of game, and Thomas dreamt away many lazy hours shooting bears and deer and wild turkeys. Young Abe became an excellent shot and could bring down a turkey on the wing with unerring aim and even took pleasure in lying in wait for deer; but he never found great delight in killing animals. As time went on the fourteen foot house was found to be too small for the Lincolns and Thomas constructed one eighteen feet square, and this was to be the Lincoln homestead in Indiana. A plague known as "the milksick" visited the district carrying off both people and cattle. Friends and relatives of the Lincolns died, and at length the mother was seized with the disease, and left the indolent Thomas to care for his family. But Thomas did not like the responsibility and wandered back to Kentucky in search of another wife.

Before he had wedded Nancy Hanks he had paid his devotions to Sarah Bush, but was rejected for an individual named Johnson. Meanwhile Johnson had died and Sarah was a widow. Thomas wasted no time in courting, and the matter of fact method of his wooing won the widow and he took her back with him to Indiana. She made a splendid mother to his children who learned to love her dearly. Her presence put new life into Thomas who was induced to



ABRAHAM LINCOLN. 12

help her make her cheerless dwelling more homelike.

Abraham now had an opportunity of attending school a little more regularly and at a very early age showed a love for books. He had, however, but scant opportunities to improve himself. When ten years old he trudged a mile and a half to school, and later, when fourteen, was compelled to walk no fewer than four miles to a log school, where he was instructed in "ciphering, readin, and rithmetic." He had not many books but those he possessed he read and re-read. The *Bible*, *Æsop's Fables*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and a *Life of Washington* was about the extent of his available reading. When a newspaper fell into his hands he devoured it, reading and re-reading its columns. He was a most attentive and industrious student, never missing a day when it was possible to be at school, but his father often required his services on the farm, and if a chance ever presented itself to have him earn a few cents working for a neighbour Thomas had no hesitation in making him lay aside his books. Among his fellow students he had, even as a boy, a considerable reputation for literary work. He was essentially a creative genius, and the man who was to create a new nation could not as a boy refrain from endeavouring to express the thoughts that possessed him. So he grew towards manhood, a thoughtful, strange, ungainly creature, thin and lank, the oddest-looking boy in Indiana, and as odd in mind as he was in body.

One of his school comrades, a girl with an eye for appearances, gives the following description of him at this period: "His skin was shrivelled and yellow. His shoes when he had any were low. He wore buck-skin breeches, linsey-woolsey shirt, and a cap made

of the skin of a squirrel or coon. His breeches were baggy and lacked by several inches meeting the tops of his shoes, thereby exposing his shin, sharp, blue, and narrow." But despite his uncouth appearance he had a magnetism about him that attracted others. He took but little pains, however, to cultivate friends. He was lost in self-improvement. Within him was a voice continually urging him on, and not even Burns, who created many of his immortal songs while holding the plough and mowing in the field, had a more active brain. During the leisure moments when at work during the busy harvest time his fellows would gather about him, and listen with interest to his stump speeches on questions on which he had gained some insight by reading a Louisville newspaper that found its solitary way into Gentryville, or laugh loudly at his droll manner and the rich fund of stories with which he entertained them. In every direction he was reaching out and had even won quite a village reputation as a poet, but in this art he never rose above very sorry doggerel.

He was in a way methodical in his work, and if a song, a thought, or a fact interested him deeply in what he was reading he would copy it into a notebook. His step-mother seems to have taken an interest in his efforts after self-improvement. Of his work at this period she said: "Frequently he had no paper to write his pieces down on. Then he would put them with chalk on a board or plank, sometimes only making a few signs of what he intended to write. When he got paper he would copy them, always bringing them to me and reading them. He would ask my opinion of what he had read and often explained things to me in his plain and simple language." He "grubbed, ploughed, and mowed barefooted in the

fields," but he had no love for farm drudgery, and at every opportunity left it to seize a book and read. Sometimes he would throw himself on his back in the shade with *Æsop's Fables* in his hands and resting his broad, ungainly feet against a tree trunk would dream away the hours. Thus was the future President of the United States, the man who was to save his country in the greatest crisis in her history, educated.

He was an indefatigable student in his boyhood days. "At night," according to William H. Herndon, "lying on his stomach in front of the open fireplace, with a piece of charcoal he would cipher on a broad wooden shovel. When the latter was covered over on both sides he would take his father's drawing knife or plane and shave it off clean, ready for a fresh supply of inscriptions the next day. He often moved about the cabin with a piece of chalk, writing and ciphering on boards and the flat sides of hewn logs. When every bare and wooden surface had been filled with his letters and ciphers he would erase them and begin anew."

Mental activity of this kind is rarely combined with physical energy. A man who is such an ardent lover of books and ideas is seldom fond of toiling with his hands, and although Lincoln had a body, peculiarly fitted for hewing down forests, splitting rails, and breaking the "stubborn glebe" he had no love for any of these things. He could probably do more work in a given time than any man or boy in his region, but, he was, to use the words of a neighbour who occasionally employed him, "awfully lazy," cracking his jokes, telling his stories and retailing his information when he should have been attending to the work of the farm.

He had early observed that the way to greatness in his country was through the Law, and although seemingly born to the axe and the plough determined to make himself a lawyer. A copy of the statutes of Indiana fell into his hands, and, with his future before him, he went at them with even greater interest than at his *Crusoe* or *Pilgrim's Progress*. He dearly loved a law-suit and visited the courts for fifteen miles around with the eagerness with which the ordinary farmer lad rushes to a circus. As he grew in knowledge his literary flights became more ambitious and at the age of seventeen he wrote a composition on the American government, pointing out the dangers already threatening his country and making a strong plea for maintaining the Constitution and perpetuating the Union. He likewise had an eye for the social evils of his day and wrote vigorously on the curse of intemperance. The villagers were amazed, and some of them even then began to prophesy great things for homely Abe Lincoln.

Meanwhile he was attending school when he could, assisting his father on the farm, and helping the family in the struggle for existence by working at various odd jobs such as ferrying, rail-splitting, etc. He grew restless under the restraints placed on him by his environment, he wanted to see the larger world from which he received faint echoes in the newspapers that occasionally fell into his hands. He was still labouring and dreaming and studying at nineteen, the monotony of his life broken only by one trading trip to New Orleans. The country he lived in was rude and rough and the people as coarse as the peasants of Zola's novels. They were exceedingly superstitious, believing in witches, wizards, charms, and spells. To church and to entertainments girls

and boys went barefooted, carrying their shoes in their hands, and at their festivals the abundant use of whiskey created many hilarious scenes. In such a community was Lincoln formed. He was one of the people, with them in their joys and sorrows, in their festivals and their entertainments, and even, to some extent, in their superstitions.

In 1829, "the milk-sick" which had driven the Lincolns out of Kentucky visited Indiana, and that, combined with the fact that they had never been successful in their new home, urged Thomas to move to Illinois which was then attracting settlers. Here the family settled on a bluff overlooking the Sangamon river and once more hewed for themselves a home out of the forest primeval.

Abraham was now of age, and could shift for himself, but for at least two years he remained with his father, working for the most part at rail-splitting, a fact that was to play such an important part in his presidential campaign thirty years later. He took another business trip down the long Mississippi to New Orleans and both on the route and in that city his kindly nature was much horrified at the sight of slaves in manacles and driven like cattle to the market. This journey was an important moment in his life, and although he was not to be a pronounced Abolitionist for thirty years, he then said: "If ever I get a chance to hit that thing I'll hit it hard." The world knows the blow he struck it at the opportune moment: but it is strange that this illiterate, unknown Mississippi boatman should have felt within himself the consciousness that the task of crushing slavery might yet be his.

All these years Lincoln was growing physically and mentally. Six feet four in height, strong as an

ox, a famous wrestler—owning no superior—he was already a general favorite along the Sangamon. He was a well-known figure about New Salem, and had quite a reputation as a river pilot, and while not loving work was known to be able to accomplish more in a given time than any other man on the country side. He attracted the attention of an enterprising business man named Offut, an individual with gigantic schemes in his head but with a disproportionate number of dollars in his pocket. He made Lincoln general manager of his enterprises, but Offut ran a short, swift course, and a few months after establi...ing Lincoln in business disappeared leaving many creditors to mourn.

Lincoln was without an occupation and having no love for farming or felling timber, and with a very great affection for leisure in which to brood and read, saw in the Black Hawk war a new experience that would suit his nature; and, perhaps, imagined that a war experience might be of assistance to him in winning his way into a political career. He enlisted in the Sangamon company, and had the honour of being elected captain of as raw a lot of genial ruffians as ever went in search of loot or glory. A very probable response to his orders was: "Go to the devil, Sir!" But he was one of themselves and the sorriest figure in the ranks did not present a more remarkable appearance than the captain.

It would require the pen of a Cervantes to picture his military career. Twice he was arrested: on the first occasion he was deprived of his sword for a day, and on the second was compelled to carry a wooden sword for two days. But he was hail-fellow-well-met with everybody, and as the men of his company had votes he endeavoured to win their good will as he

had decided to be a candidate for the next Legislature. The term of enlistment was a short one, and as the majority of the men in pursuit of the redoubtable Black Hawk had grown weary of the work, they returned to their farms or workshops. Not so with Lincoln; he was in a peculiar position. As he afterwards said very candidly to his law partner William H. Herndon, "I was out of work and there being no danger of more fighting, I could do nothing better than enlist again." This time he took rank as a private in the company of one Elijah Iles; but in August his soldiering was at an end, and he was back in Sangamon County soliciting the votes of his neighbours for the Legislature.

He was then and for many years after a prominent Whig, favouring the National Bank, a liberal system of internal improvement, a high protective tariff, and increased educational expenditure. In other words he was thoroughly progressive, even visionary.

He was an odd figure as he appeared on the platform to make his first political address. He was clad "in jeans coat, claw-hammer style, short in the sleeves and bob-tail, so short in the tails that he could not sit on them; flax and tow-linen pantaloons, and a straw hat." During the course of his first speech, too, he observed a ruffian opposed to him making himself obnoxious in the crowd. Lincoln stepped from the platform seized him and cast him to the ground "ten feet away" and then stepped back to his place and finished his speech. Such was the beginning of the political career of a man who was to do a greater work for humanity than Gladstone or Bismarck or any other of his political contemporaries. He expected to be beaten in this first election, and he was; but he was not without honour in his own land.

Out of the two hundred and eight New Salem votes he got all save three.

He now managed to get control, in partnership with a man named Berry, of a general store. This gave him more leisure as he left the business end of the concern to his somewhat profligate partner while he lay on the counter studying Euclid and Blackstone or reading the latest sensational novel, or sat round the winter stove discussing politics with the gossips of the village. The result, as might be expected, was business failure, and he had a legacy of debt that kept him poor for fifteen years. He apparently made no effort to please his customers, avoided all women, and took no pains with his appearance.

One familiar with him at this time writes: "As a salesman he wore flax and tow-linen pantaloons—I thought about five inches too short in the legs—and frequently had but one suspender, no vest or coat. He wore a calico shirt, such as he had in the Black Hawk war; coarse brogans, tan color; blue yarn socks and straw hat, old style, without a band."

He was once more adrift. Studying law, reading Paine, Volney, and Voltaire; rail-splitting, occasional work in a store, attending horse-races and cock-fights,—thus he spent his time, ever ready for a wrestling bout or a trial of strength. He worked for a time with a surveyor and an excellent assistant he made; a government office, that of postmaster, helped him in his struggle for existence, although as the "post-office was in his hat" it could not have been a very remunerative position. He still had his eye on the legislative halls. In 1834 he once more strove for political honours, standing on his Whig principles, and this time he won. His biographers have generally placed him at the head of the poll, but

according to the latest authorities he made an excellent second among the four successful candidates.

The Legislature met at Vandalia in those days, and the dignity of his position demanded that he should make a respectable appearance in its halls; but he was without a decent suit of clothes. However he had friends—he was never without them—and borrowed sufficient money to purchase a coat, on whose tails he could at least sit, and pantaloons that would not permit too much of his thin shanks being in evidence.

At this period Lincoln was very much in love with a sweet and beautiful girl named Anne Rutledge. A simple, sad romance surrounded her life and through it Lincoln, ever ready to bestow sympathy, was drawn to her. But a year after his election to the Legislature she died, and for a time he was broken-hearted, plunged in the deepest melancholy, not daring to carry even a pocket knife for fear of suicide. Throughout his entire life he had periods of gloom of a similar kind which at several crises in his career bordered on insanity. A short time after this he tried to fill the void in his life by endeavouring to win the heart of Mary S. Owens, a woman of massive beauty and considerable strength of character, but he failed, although he made sufficient impression to have Miss Owens remember him as a "man with a heart full of kindness and a head full of sense,"—a happy expression that hits off the genius and power of Lincoln to perfection.

All this time he was industriously working at the study of law with the hope of being admitted to the Bar, believing that in the profession of law the vague longings of his ambitious nature would be satisfied.

CHAPTER VII.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (*Continued*).

LINCOLN rode into Vandalia with becoming dignity, in a new suit purchased through the generosity of his friend Smoot. During his first session he showed great modesty, was but seldom heard, and at no time at any length. He had much to learn and he knew it, and he was a silent pupil of the experienced politicians. When the session was over he returned to New Salem and with new hope applied himself industriously to the study of law and worked at surveying for a livelihood. Although he had done nothing in the Legislature to astonish the people of Sangamon County, when he again presented himself in 1836 as a candidate he had an enthusiastic following. His speeches now showed greater power and finish, and largely due to him the Whigs carried the day, with his name at the head of the poll.

Of him at this time it has been said: "He was big with prospects: his real public service was just now about to begin. In the previous Legislature he had been silent, observant, studious. He had improved the opportunity so well that of all men in this new body, of equal age in the service, he was the smartest parliamentarian and 'cunningest log-roller.' He was fully determined to identify himself conspicuously with the liberal legislation in contemplation, and

dreamed of fame very different from that which he actually obtained as an anti-slavery leader. It was about this time he told his friend Speed that he aimed at the great distinction of being called the 'De Witt Clinton of Illinois.'"

He and his fellow Whigs, the "Long Nine," were visionary. They saw a great and immediate future for Illinois and plunged recklessly into extravagant legislation. The following paragraph from Herndon and Weik's *Life of Lincoln* thus presents the situation:

"The representatives in the Legislature from Sangamon County had been instructed by a mass convention of their constituents to vote 'for a general system of internal improvements.' Another convention of delegates from all the counties in the State met at Vandalia and made a similar recommendation to the members of the Legislature, specifying that it should be 'commensurate with the wants of the people.' Provision was made for a gridiron of railroads. The extreme points of the State, East and West, North and South were to be brought together by thirteen hundred miles of iron rails. Every river and stream of the least importance was to be widened, deepened, and made navigable. A canal to connect the Illinois River and Lake Michigan was to be dug, and thus the great system was to be made 'commensurate with the wants of the people.' To effect all these great ends, a loan of twelve million dollars was authorized before the session closed. Work on all these gigantic enterprises was to begin at the earliest practicable moment; cities were to spring up everywhere; capital from abroad was to come pouring in; attracted by the glowing reports of the marvellous progress and great internal wealth, people were to

come swarming in by colonies, until in the end Illinois was to outstrip all the others, and herself become the Empire State of the Union."

Lincoln was a partner to this wild legislation, was indeed the prime mover in these great schemes which burdened Illinois with debt.

During this same session there was a battle royal over a bill to remove the seat of government from Vandalia. Alton, Decatur, Peoria, Jacksonville, Illiopolis, and Springfield all coveted the honour of being the State capital, but Lincoln was for Springfield and by dogged determination and adroit wire-pulling won the day.

What is of far greater interest to the world in this period of his life is a protest recorded in the Legislature in this same session, on March 3, 1837.

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery, having passed both branches of the General Assembly, at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

"They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.

"The difference between these opinions and those

contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

"DAN STONE.
"A. LINCOLN.

"Representatives from the county of Sangamon."

Lincoln, it will be seen, was at this time no Abolitionist. He took his stand on the Constitution, but at the same time he showed his abhorrence of slavery. It would almost seem that in dealing with this question he had his great future before him; a fanatical anti-slavery advocate could not hope for the confidence of the Nation, but to win his way upwards with the people of the North it was wise to show where he stood, and the fact that from the commencement of his career he believed that slavery was based on injustice and bad policy could not but make the Abolitionists hope that he would yet be with them. In this protest he was something of a trimmer. He had determined to hit slavery hard if the chance were ever given to him, but the blow must be given by constitutional means, and he was beginning to feel his way even as early as 1837 towards a solution of the question whose distant mutterings even then gave warning of the volcanic eruption that in 1861 was to shake the nation to its very foundations.

When this session closed he was licensed to practise law, and straightway entered into partnership with a comrade of the Black Hawk war, John T. Stuart. He was afterwards in partnership with Stephen P. Logan and finally with William H. Herndon.

About this time an important figure appeared on the scene. A few years before a Vermont cabinet-maker had moved to Illinois and begun the pursuit of law. He was a Democrat and an ardent opponent of Lincoln and the Sangamon Whigs. This man,

Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant," from this time onward was to continually cross Lincoln's path, and although the two great rivals continued to be in a sense personal friends, on political issues they were at daggers-drawn. A man like Lincoln requires something to draw him out, and in the energy, dogged perseverance, political trickery, and eloquence of Douglas, Lincoln found the necessary stimulus to keep him cultivating his native powers. Throughout his entire career from his Legislature days till he won his way into the White House he was more than a match for his great political rival.

When Lincoln began the practice of law he found his work as junior partner exceedingly distasteful. The truth is Lincoln did not like the drudgery of existence in any form, and, while Stuart's partner, put more time and study on such rhetorical effusions, as his "Perpetuation of Our Free Institutions," which attracted considerable attention, than on his legitimate work.

In 1838 he was again elected to the Legislature, and so much confidence had the Whigs in him that he was their nominee for Speaker, but was beaten. His last campaign for the Legislature took place in 1840. He was again elected, and again nominated for Speaker, but was once more beaten by the Democrats. So far his experience had been in the field of State politics, but in this year his influence was to be broadened. He was selected as an elector on the Harrison ticket for President, and in this capacity stumped the State, frequently crossing swords with Stephen A. Douglas.

He was now in his thirty-second year, and it would seem that the death of Anne Rutledge and his unsuccessful wooing of Mary S. Owens together with

the preoccupation of his mind with politics had made him a confirmed bachelor; but Mary Todd, a young woman of more than ordinary intelligence, beauty, pride, and temper, visited Illinois several years before and Lincoln once more imagined he was in love. Miss Todd was attracted to him by his intelligence and wit, despite his uncouth appearance and quite as uncouth manners. Lincoln never truly loved Mary Todd; and probably the greatest incentive in his courtship was the fact that Stephen Douglas was seeking to win her hand. He was to have been married in January, 1841, but when the guests appeared for the performance Hamlet could not be found. At the last moment his will had failed him, and the melancholy that possessed his life when Anne Rutledge died seized him again; but with even greater force. He was closely watched by his friends for fear he would commit suicide, and it was only after a long holiday in the Kentucky home of his intimate friend Speed that he was able to cast off the depression that possessed his life. After some months he returned to Springfield and once more took up the practice of law. For a time he was naturally detested by Miss Todd and her friends, but the friendship was renewed and in November, 1842, they were quietly married, Lincoln going to the altar, "as pale and trembling as if being driven to slaughter." It was not a happy marriage, but in this brief sketch it is unnecessary to go into its details. It was perhaps best for the world that Lincoln's domestic life was unhappy. Had he been happily married he probably would have bestowed on one woman that sympathy and love the human race needed. Had his fireside been made attractive he might have been content to rest there instead of restlessly battling

the forces that strove to destroy his country. But all this is vain speculation.

Although Lincoln did not seek re-election to the Legislature after 1840 and devoted himself assiduously to his law practice, which was rapidly becoming very remunerative, he continued to take much interest in politics and social affairs, and found a vent for his feelings by contributing frequently to the *Sangamon Journal* on a variety of questions. His desire had ever been to make the world better for his sojourn in it, and when in 1842 the Washingtonian Temperance Movement took hold of the people of Illinois he displayed considerable enthusiasm in the work. He could not, however, long keep out of political life; in 1843 he was anxious to run for Congress and in the campaign for President of 1844 he stumped the State of Illinois and even made several speeches in Indiana on behalf of Clay.

On May 1, 1846, Lincoln was nominated for Congress at Petersburg, and now proved himself an astute politician. He was denounced as an unbeliever, the Church forces were arrayed against him, but he triumphed and was elected by a majority of 1,511, his faithful supporters in Sangamon County, where he was best known, giving him a majority of 690. He was to be tested even before going to Congress. The Mexican war was in full swing, and politicians were expected to take sides for or against the struggle. Many leading men, many even of the leaders of the army, deemed the war an unrighteous one, brought about by the schemings of Democratic politicians and the desire of the pro-slavery party to extend their influence to the Pacific. Lincoln was opposed to the war, but his fellow-countrymen were fighting on foreign soil against an enemy who had been guilty of

many brutal acts, and he now urged a vigorous prosecution of the struggle with the hope that it might have a speedy termination.

In December he took his seat in Congress, at a time when Stephen A. Douglas, his great rival in the race for the Presidency, was beginning to make his influence felt on the floors of the Senate. Lincoln was not a brilliant Congressman. He made, it is true, several noteworthy speeches on the "Spot Resolutions" and against the Polk administration in connection with the Mexican war; but in these he disappointed his friends and probably did much to weaken Whig influence in Illinois. He, however, shortly before the adjournment of Congress delivered an oration on behalf of General Zachary Taylor and against General Cass which was at once strong, in his best vein, and intensely characteristic of the man. The following paragraph from this speech gives with exceptional humour the esteem in which he held his own war experiences:

"By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk war, I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career, reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterwards. It is quite certain I did not break my sword for I had none to break, but I bent my musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is, he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me picking whortleberries I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians, it was more than I did, but I had a good

many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes; and, although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if ever I should conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade federalism about me, and, thereupon they shall take me up as their candidate for the Presidency, I protest that they shall not make fun of me as they have of General Cass by attempting to write me into a military hero."

In August, 1848, he found a new field for his energy. He was known as the "Lone Star of Illinois," the only Whig member for his State, and as such went to the New England States to work for General Taylor,—to work against the "Free Soilers" who twelve years later were to be his mainstay. In the home of American culture and eloquence the rough backwoodsman with his angular body, his badly-fitting garments, and his rustic manners attracted much attention through the soundness of his public utterances. The *Boston Advertiser* thus describes him as he appeared at the Whig State Convention at Worcester:

"Mr. Lincoln has a very tall and thin figure, with an intellectual face, showing a searching mind and a cool judgment. He spoke in a clear and cool and very eloquent manner, carrying the audience with him in his able arguments and brilliant illustrations, only interrupted by warm and frequent applause. He began by expressing a real feeling of modesty in addressing an audience 'this side of the mountains,' a part of the country where, in the opinion of the people of his section, everybody was supposed to be instructed and wise. But he had devoted his attention to the question of the coming presidential elec-

tion, and was not unwilling to exchange with all whom he might meet the ideas to which he had arrived."

He displayed but little rhetoric, he aimed at being plain and direct and to the point,—and he succeeded. On this occasion he spoke in Tremont Temple in company with W. H. Seward, and while listening to Seward his spirit was reminded of the grave evil that was in his country—slavery, a question on which, despite his New Orleans experiences, he was still lukewarm. "Governor Seward," he said, "I have been thinking about what you said in your speech. I reckon you are right. We have got to deal with the slavery question, and got to give much more attention to it hereafter than we have been doing." He learned much while stumping the New England States and gained a finish and polish in his oratory that was to make him one of the greatest speakers of his century.

Up to this period of his life Lincoln was to some extent without a centre. He was an active partisan, not above the tricks of the politician, capable of taking a mean advantage of an opponent, and, to win his point, of uttering half-truths. He believed in the Union and he believed in State rights, but neither his heart nor his intellect was awake to the great questions that were so soon to rend his country in twain. When he retired from Congress it seemed almost as if he had ceased to take a serious view of politics or life. He was rapidly rising in reputation as a lawyer, he was the most famous story-teller in Illinois, but his ordinary work was done in a careless, shiftless, unmethodical manner; although at times, when moved by injustice done to a client he showed a power and intensity that only the greatest

possess. He had grown to love truth, was scrupulously honest, and, when occasion demanded it, an energetic worker. President Taylor recognised the good work Lincoln had done for him and offered Lincoln the position of Governor of the Territory of Oregon, but Lincoln declined the position. He seemed to be growing attached to the law, and was apparently forgetting all about Washington and the White House, when the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise awoke the whole man.

This was the work of his great rival Douglas, and for the next six years these two men were to stand before their State and the Nation as bitter political opponents. Their first important battle of rhetoric and logic was at the State fair at Springfield in October, 1854. Douglas had made a brilliant and powerful speech defending his advocacy of his "Squatter Sovereignty" and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. On the following day Lincoln replied, and made what many of his friends considered the ablest speech of his life. In the language of the *Springfield Journal:* "The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was shivered and like a tree of the forest was torn and rent asunder by the hot bolts of truth."

These two magnetic speakers had their most famous passage at arms in 1858. The Republicans in that year placed Lincoln in the field to oppose Douglas when he sought re-election to the Senate. When the canvass was about to begin Lincoln challenged Douglas to discuss the grave questions of the hour in a series of joint meetings. Douglas was not without courage and accepted the challenge. Lincoln expected to be beaten in the race for the Senate, but he had planned to put it forever out of Douglas' power to reach the Presidential chair.

Douglas' only hope lay in the South and Lincoln himself was looking to the nomination in 1860, and to turn the South against Douglas he forced from him an affirmative answer to the question, "Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?" Douglas was in a difficult position. A negative answer would have caused his defeat for the Senate; an affirmative one would bring upon him the enmity of the South: but as a politician Douglas was not honest, and believing that he would in the two years intervening before the Presidential election be able to square himself with the slave-holders gave an affirmative answer. But for that question, so cunningly put, Stephen A. Douglas would probably have been President of the United States.

His own answers to the questions put to him at this time by Douglas show admirable caution. The following extracts from his speech at Freeport prove that while he was opposed to slavery as wholly wrong, he was not yet prepared to go the length of the Boston abolitionists:

"In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair opportunity and a clear field, when they come

to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as adopt the slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.....

"The fourth one is in regard to abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet, as a member of Congress I should not, with my present views, be in favour of endeavouring to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: First, that the abolition should be gradual; second, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the district; and, third, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and, in the language of Henry Clay: 'Sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation.'

"In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here that, as to the question of the abolition of the slave trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am pledged to nothing about it.

"It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it

if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject, but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave trade among the different States, I should still not be in favour of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

Douglas was re-elected to the Senate. His affirmative answer to Lincoln's questions had assured his victory. Apparently Lincoln knew it would, and had said to a friend who remonstrated with him about it: "I am after larger game. If Douglas so answers he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

The campaign had made him famous. Douglas, particularly through the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, had become one of the most prominent figures in the Union, and it was known that, although unsuccessful in the senatorial contest, Lincoln had proved more than his equal in debate, and in the East the Anti-slavery party began to speak of Lincoln in the same breath with Seward and Sumner and Wendell Phillips. He was to have one more triumph before his name was to be spoken of for the Presidency. He accepted an invitation to deliver an address at Cooper Institute, New York. It was a brilliant assemblage that gathered to hear the backwoods lawyer from Illinois, and they left deeply impressed with the power and sincerity of the man. It was in this speech that he said:

"In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago: 'it is still in our power to direct the pro-

cess of emancipation and deportation peaceably and in such slow degrees as that the evil will wear off insensibly and their places be *pari passu* filled up by free white labourers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up.'

"Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the Federal government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slave-holding States only.

"The Federal government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution—the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from slavery."

The North had at length produced a man who was not afraid to speak and who could speak without frenzy.

Before returning to Springfield he passed through the New England States addressing meetings frequently and leaving behind him the impression that out of the West had come a giant to help them down the evil against which they had so long been fighting. When he returned to his home he calmly waited, conscious at times that the supreme gift in the power of his country to bestow was within his grasp.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN (*Continued*).

In May, 1860, the Republican Convention met in Chicago in a vast building known as the Wigwam. There were several very strong men before the party for the office of President. Chief among these were Seward and Chase. There was a dark horse in the field, however. "Honest Old Abe" was worshipped by many of his Illinois friends and among themselves was much talked of for the Presidency, although not considered seriously in this light outside of his own State. Seward was the most probable nominee of the party. He was a man of culture, a man of ideas, an eloquent speaker, skilled in affairs. He was not only an Eastern politician but he had a national reputation. On the other hand Lincoln while well-known in the West was not known in the East excepting for his speeches in New England, and for his celebrated address in New York. However, one never knows what will happen at a Presidential convention and Lincoln's friends succeeded in bringing his name prominently before the Convention and in having him nominated on the third ballot. This was a triumph for a man who, while not without hope, had not seriously considered himself for the Presidential office. It must have been a bitter pill for Seward to swallow, this defeat by an uncouth

backwoodsman who carried the Convention not on account of the brilliancy of his career, but through the two cries "Honest Old Abe" and "Rail-splitter."

Lincoln was a little afraid of the office of President. Like every strong man he recognised his own limitations. "Seriously," he said, "I do not think I am fit for the Presidency." However, nothing short of it would satisfy his ambition. His friends wished to have his name stand for the Vice-Presidency if not for President, but Lincoln desired to play second fiddle to no man, and rejected the proffered honour.

The Democratic convention which met in Charleston, South Carolina, had not such unanimity of feeling. There were numerous ballotings but no candidate could be selected. It divided sharply into two sections. Lincoln by his question two years before to Stephen A. Douglas had killed that candidate's chance of support from the South. The Southern half were unable to trust Douglas after his Freeport speech and they adjourned to Richmond, but again joined the other half at Baltimore. But Union was out of the question and final disruption took place. The Southern half nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, and the Northern portion nominated Stephen A. Douglas. To make matters more difficult for the Democrats, John Bell of Tennessee was nominated by the so-called Constitutional Union Party. In the multiplicity of candidates lay Lincoln's success at the polls. He had the entire support of the Anti-slavery party of the North and as a result had no difficulty in winning. When the electoral College cast their votes Lincoln had 180, Breckinridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 12.

When the results were known the Slave States began at once to carry out their threats of secession.

South Carolina was the first to go, and she was quickly followed by Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. These seceding States formed a Government of their own, named it the Confederate States of America and elected Jefferson Davis as President, while Buchanan looked on in dismay.

Lincoln was now in a somewhat peculiar position. He was elected President of the United States, but found that in the period between his election and his inauguration a large and influential part of his country was endeavouring to separate itself from the rest. His friends expected him to speak, but what his ideas were, or what course he intended to pursue when he took up office he told no man. However one thing he did emphasise on every possible occasion —that he would preserve the Union.

He was scarcely elected before his troubles began, troubles that were to worry him more than the great war. He was besieged at once by office-seekers. They came in droves and even before he went to Washington he regretted ever having run for the Presidency.

He said in his wrath, "I am sick of office-holding already, and I shudder when I think of the tasks that are still ahead."

He took his farewell from Springfield on February 11, 1861, and from the rear platform of the car gave one of his short, characteristic speeches.

"Friends," he said, "no one who has never been placed in a like position can understand my feelings at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness I feel at this parting. For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands.

Here I have lived from my youth until now I am an old man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed. Here all my children were born; and here one of them lies buried. To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, checkered past seems to crowd now upon my mind. To-day I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same omniscient mind and almighty arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To Him I commend you all. Permit me to ask that with equal sincerity and faith you will invoke His wisdom and guidance for me. With these words I must leave you, for how long I know not."

It was to be forever; but the influence of the man had left its impress deep upon his State, and was to leave it before he died as deeply upon the Nation.

On his way to Washington he spoke on a number of occasions and was decidedly guarded in all of his speeches. The South was menacing: it would have been a very short-sighted man who could not have foretold that war was inevitable, but Lincoln would do nothing to hasten the "irrepressible conflict." There would no be bloodshed unless it was forced upon the Government and then the Government would only fight in self-defence. But self-defence meant defence of the Union, and that in time could only mean carrying the war into the seceding States.

The South was thoroughly roused against this new President who was speaking with no uncertain voice. Many were hoping that he would never reach Wash-

ington, and a plot was set on foot to assassinate him on the journey. He was to be slain as he passed through Baltimore, but the authorities at Washington were aware of the plot and took every means to guard against a tragedy. The great detective Allan Pinkerton was engaged, ferreted out the details of this plot and so arranged matters that Lincoln arrived safely at Washington. There is not a shadow of doubt but that an attempt would have been made on his life had he passed through Baltimore according to his first arrangements. When he reached Washington he found that old General Scott had everything in readiness to protect him. There was serious danger that a calamity might occur on the Fourth of March but ample guards were posted through the city and the presence of so many troops prevented Southern sympathisers from attacking the President on the day of his inauguration. The following account of this great inauguration by an eye-witness is well worth perusal.

"The attendance . . . was unusually small, many being kept away by anticipated disturbance, as it had been rumoured—truly, too—that General Scott himself was fearful of an outbreak, and had made all possible military preparations to meet the emergency. A square platform had been built out from the steps to the eastern portico, with benches for distinguished spectators on three sides. Douglas, the only one I recognised, sat at the extreme end of the seat on the right of the narrow passage leading from the steps. There was no delay, and the gaunt form of the President-elect was soon visible, slowly making his way to the front. To me, at least, he was completely metamorphosed—partly by his own fault, and partly through the efforts of injudicious

friends and ambitious tailors. He was raising (to gratify a very young lady it is said) a crop of whiskers, of the blacking brush variety, coarse, stiff and ungraceful; and in so doing spoiled, or at least seriously impaired, a face which, though never handsome, had in its original state a peculiar power and pathos. On the present occasion the whiskers were reinforced by brand new clothes from top to toe; black dress-coat, instead of the usual frock, black cloth or satin vest, black pantaloons, and a glossy hat evidently just out of the box. To cap the climax of novelty, he carried a huge ebony cane, with a gold head the size of an egg. In these, to him, strange habiliments, he looked so miserably uncomfortable that I could not help pitying him. Reaching the platform his discomfort was visibly increased by not knowing what to do with hat and cane; and so he stood there, the target for ten thousand eyes, holding cane in one hand and hat in the other, the very picture of helpless embarrassment. After some hesitation he pushed the cane into a corner of the railing, but could not find a place for the hat except on the floor, where I could see he did not like to risk it. Douglas, who fully took in the situation, came to the rescue of his old friend and rival, and held the precious hat until the owner needed it again; a service which, if predicted two years before, would probably have astonished him. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney, whose black robe, attenuated figure, and cadaverous countenance reminded me of a galvanised corpse. Then the President came forward, and read his inaugural address in a clear and distinct voice. It was attentively listened to by all, but the closest listener was Douglas, who leaned forward as if to catch every

word, nodding his head emphatically at those passages which pleased him most."

His address was worded with great judgment. It was the utterance of a man who desired peace, but dreaded that the sword could alone bring peace. He made no threat against the South, he spoke of the mistaken States with kindness and tenderness. He was not at this time oversure of himself and was carefully feeling his way. The first draft of his address had in it expressions that would certainly have irritated the hot-headed Southerners, but knowing his own inexperience he had submitted his address to Seward, and Seward had made a number of excellent suggestions and a few changes.

It has been said of Lincoln that his "nomination was a triumph of availability and local enthusiasm assisted by unexpected circumstances over great merit and still greater popularity." Seward may have had the greater merit, a cool head and a cultivated mind, but he was not the man for this critical time in his country's life. Lincoln would almost seem to have been peculiarly raised up by heaven to see his nation through this great crisis. But he had much to learn and he was not unwilling to learn from Seward. However when Seward attempted to be the power behind the throne and manage Lincoln he found that he was working with a stronger man, a greater diplomat, and a keener intellect than himself, and was content to take a second part in the government of his country.

Lincoln had a somewhat difficult task, considering the times and the men available, to select a cabinet, but he made his own cabinet and made it with excellent judgment. William H. Seward, of New York, was his Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase,

of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney-General; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General. Secretary Chase resigned in 1864 and was succeeded by William P. Fessenden, of Maine; Secretary Cameron was almost immediately appointed Minister to Russia and Edwin M. Stanton became Lincoln's vigorous and energetic war minister. Secretary Smith was created a judge, and John P. Usher, of Indiana, became Secretary of the Interior. Attorney-General Bates and Postmaster-General Blair both resigned in the last year of the administration and were succeeded by James Speed of Kentucky and William Dennison of Ohio.

Lincoln had used excellent judgment in his selection of a cabinet. It was necessary to hold the Federal party together and to do this he had to work wisely with both Seward and Chase, but while he elevated them to the first positions in his cabinet he soon let them see that he was no tool in their hands.

In his inaugural address he had pleaded with the South for peace. "In your hands," he said, "my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have a most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it."

His words only irritated the South. On the day following his address instead of learning that there was a hope of still preserving the Union without war,

the President received word from Major Anderson that Fort Sumter could not much longer hold out unless it were reinforced and resupplied. Twenty thousand men would be needed to hold it against the army that was rapidly gathering in its vicinity. For the next month the country was in a state of wonder, the Northern people had expected much from Lincoln, and yet he seemed to be acting along the lines of Buchanan. He held his own counsel, made no preparations to carry on war and seemed to sit idle in the White House while the Southern army was each day growing stronger. But he was biding his time. The first blow must be struck by the South, and when, on April 12, a shell was fired into Fort Sumter it was the signal for Lincoln to sternly show his position. Sumter surrendered; a fierce shout went up from the North, and Lincoln without a moment's hesitation issued a call for 75,000 men for three months. Three weeks later he issued a still further call for 64,000 soldiers and 18,000 seamen for three years. It was evident he feared a long contest and was making preparations for it.

At the beginning of this struggle the South was in a sense in an immensely better position th. the North. In the first place, General Floyd, Secretary of War under Buchanan, had used his position to help her prepare for the struggle. He had scattered the small army of the United States in distant posts; he had sent the navy to foreign waters, and he had left the Southern fortifications in such a condition that they could not but be an easy prey to the rebels, whom he himself, with his knowledge of the condition of the army and navy, was to join. Again the South looked hopefully to Europe. The people knew that even England with all its high professions

against slavery was in a sense their friend, even so strong and far-sighted a politician as Mr. Gladstone taking sides with them. Their soldiers, too, were in much better shape for war than the men of the North. The struggle with Mexico and the wars with the Indians had been conducted largely by soldiers from the South and the Confederacy had practically an army of veterans officered by men of experience who for the most part had received their training at West Point. They had, too, abundant supplies and arms. On the other hand the North was, from a military point of view, weak; her soldiers were untrained, her army was sadly in need of experienced officers, she was in dread of European intervention, but,—she had a vast country to draw from, a sturdy population, and a righteous cause.

When Sumter fell soldiers were at once hurried to Washington and the first blood shed in the campaign was in the streets of Baltimore as the troops from the North were hastening through that Southern city.

One of the things most worthy of recording at the beginning of this struggle is the attitude of Lincoln's lifelong rival and opponent for the Presidency, Stephen A. Douglas. He had professed himself a lover of the Union, and now that the Union was threatened, in the few months that were left to him of life, his voice was raised in support of Lincoln.

After the first shock of war affairs were at a standstill, the North was preparing for the conflict and the South was getting ready to resist any invasion of Southern territory. April passed, May passed, June passed and excepting for the initial fight of the war at Big Bethel near Hampton in Virginia, no important conflicts took place. The Union generals began

to feel themselves strong enough to come to battle with the South, and so on July 21, 1861, General Irwin McDowell met the Confederate generals Joseph E. Johnson and Pierre G. T. Beauregard at Bull Run. It was for a time an indecisive struggle, but at length the undisciplined, untried soldiers, from the workshops, the farms and the stores of the North gave way before the fierce attacks of the Southern troops and in mad confusion rushed towards Washington. A host of spectators had trooped from the city to witness the battle, and these, in a pouring rain, mingled with the demoralised troops that rushed into the capital. It looked for a time as though Washington would fall, but the fight had been a hard one and the Southern troops were not in a position to follow up their victory. It was a hard blow but Lincoln was not crestfallen. To the defeated general he was able to send the telegraph, "We are not discouraged." As Walt Whitman says, "If there were nothing else of Abraham Lincoln for history to stamp him with, it is enough to send him with his wreath to the memory of all future time, that he endured that hour, that day, bitterer than gall, indeed a crucifixion day; that it did not conquer him; that he unflinchingly stemmed it, and resolved to lift himself and the Union out of it."

It had in one sense a bad effect on the Federal cause. Hopelessness set in in many directions, and the untrained mob of the North became the laughing-stock of Europe. Little could Europe have imagined in that hour that in a very few years American soldiers would be strong enough to drive one of the European powers from this continent and to defy any one of them to attempt to assert herself in the Americas. Indeed such are now the

resources of the United States and such the skill of her soldiers and her seamen that it is very doubtful if any combination of European powers could successfully sustain a war against her.

More men were needed, a call went up for 500,000 men, and $250,000,000 and the North was ready to answer the call. In the meantime a great deal of preparation had to be done. At the beginning of nearly all great wars a few hard knocks are necessary to teach the Powers what course to pursue. The first months of the British campaign in South Africa was an excellent instance of this. The chief thing to do now was to sit tight and get ready for war. There was a great lack of good generals, the best available man seemed to be General George B. McClellan. This general was placed at the head of the army and at once began to organize and drill it. A great fighter McClellan was not. He overestimated the number of the enemy and had not that dash that is necessary for the winning of great victories. What he could do, he could do, and so he drilled away at his army of 150,000 or more men until the spring of '62. At length he moved on Richmond only to be repulsed. He was relieved of the command later in the year, but the generals who replaced him were equally unable to cope with such a brilliant strategist as Lee, the most brilliant soldier in this war, not excepting Grant.

While the army of the Potomac was meeting with reverse after reverse, along the Mississippi, a soldier of power had appeared, "a sledge hammer of war" as he has been called by Goldwin Smith. Grant had in the hour of reverses captured Confederate forts and defeated Southern forces.

The campaign of the year 1861 was far from

being a favorable one to the North; she had suffered several severe defeats and although the Federal troops had gained some minor victories they had no such success to show as Big Bethel or Bull Run. Still Lincoln was hopeful; never for a moment did he despair.

The reverses on the scene of conflict were not the only thing to cause the President anxiety. There was serious danger of European complications. He had, however, made an excellent choice in the Minister he sent to England: Charles Francis Adams made a splendid representative in that country at this crisis in his country's history. The first danger arose through the action of Captain Wilkes of the United States sloop "San Jacinto." This commander bore down upon the English mail steamship "Trent" outside of Havana and seized Mason and Slidell, the accredited Confederate agents to England. The action was applauded in the Northern States, but caused the loudest outcries in England. Many were for war, and it seemed for a time as if a struggle might take place between England and the North. However, Lincoln saw clearly that the action was not a justifiable one, and so released the two prisoners. The affair was not without its good effect, European Powers recognised that a firm and wise ruler was at the head of affairs in the North, and although several of them had strong leanings towards the South they postponed recognising the independence of the Confederate States of America.

There was at this time another source of irritation arising between England and the Federal government. Privateers were beginning to play havoc with the rich commerce of the North, and England took

but careless steps to exclude these marauders from her ports.

At the beginning of 1862 the war between Mexico and France threatened likewise to complicate matters. Had this struggle occurred under any other circumstances there is no doubt whatever but that Lincoln and the American people would have stepped in and interfered along the lines of the Monroe Doctrine. But the Civil war called forth all the energy of the government, and not even the bold manifesto of Louis Napoleon to General Forey could make Lincoln take a hand in the struggle. A part of his manifesto is well worth reading. It is as follows: "In the present state of civilisation the development of America can no longer be a matter of indifference to Europe. America takes our wares and keeps alive our commerce. It is to our interest that the Republic of the United States of North America should flourish and prosper, but it is not at all to our interest that they should come into possession of the entire Gulf of Mexico, to rule from there the destinies of the Antilles and South America and control the products of the New World." A manifesto such as this at any other time would have called forth energetic action on the part of the government.

At the beginning of this same year Grant on the West was "anxious to do something." In February the forts Henry and Donelson fell into his hands, and it looked for a moment as if a genuine fighting general had suddenly arisen. Lincoln's observing eye was on him, and he never lost the faith in Grant he gained in the first months of 1862. But jealousies arose among the generals and, as a result of their quarrel at a time when something of genuine value

might have been done, Grant was placed under arrest. However he was soon restored to his command and shortly after fought the great battle of Shiloh. The first day of this fight was practically a defeat and the field was only saved by the arrival of reinforcements. General Grant was much criticised for his conduct of this battle, and his enemies clamoured for his removal. Lincoln, however, would not listen to them; he saw that in Grant he had a fighter, a man who would spare neither himself nor his men to win a victory, a man in many ways of the Napoleonic type. "I can't spare that man," said Lincoln, "he fights." No doubt as he uttered these words he was thinking of the general-in-chief, McClellan, who was then drilling his troops, making vast preparations, but doing nothing of a decisive nature.

In the beginning of the struggle the South was practically without ships, and it was a comparatively easy matter for the North to make the blockade of many of her ports effective. In 1862, however, there was a momentary change, the "Merrimac," a monster of war, appeared among the Northern ships and created havoc for a moment. However, the North was preparing for such an emergency, Ericsson had constructed his "Monitor," and before excessive injury could be done to the navy of the North this strange vessel appeared on the scene and proved a worthy rival of the unique "Merrimac." The duel between these two great ships completely changed naval warfare, and out of the civil strife in America came the great modern rams and turret ships of the European world, and wooden battleships in which the gallant Farragut delighted became things of the past.

All this time Lincoln was keeping his eye fixed on

the Mississippi. When the war commenced the Confederates held the whole of that great waterway from Cairo to New Orleans. "The Mississippi is the backbone of the Rebellion. It is the key to the whole situation," said Lincoln, and along that river brisk fighting was to follow. Admiral Farragut was sent to attack New Orleans, and after stiff fighting and heroic deeds succeeded in entering the city, and on May 15 placed it under the military command of General Butler. This somewhat increased the hopes of the North.

Meanwhile McClellan with his large army was watching Lee. On September 4, the great Southern general crossed the Potomac with 40,000 men and McClellan with double the number met him at South Mountain and at Antietam and forced him back.

After the battle of Antietam Lincoln performed the most noteworthy act of his presidential career. He was a great anti-slavery president, elected largely by the votes of the Abolitionists, and for over a year these Abolitionists had been clamouring for him to emancipate the slaves, but he had refused to listen to their appeals or to heed their abuse. Even such prominent, enlightened, and wise thinkers as Wendell Phillips and Horace Greeley had held him up to ridicule and publicly denounced him for his attitude, but he went on his way awaiting the right moment. "I do not want," he said, "to issue a document that the whole world will see must necessarily be inoperative like the Pope's Bull against the comet. . . . I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion. . . . I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold this matter

under advisement." From the beginning what he had determined upon was to keep his country intact, the Union must be saved,—that was his first thought. He said to Horace Greeley, "My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; if I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and, if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that."

The matter of emancipation had since the beginning of the conflict been brought very prominently before the nation. General Frémont in his district had emancipated the slaves, but Lincoln believing that the time was not yet ripe for such a course decided that under existing circumstances such a policy could not be carried out. Again, in May, General Hunter issued an order containing these words, "Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three States—Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina—heretofore held as slaves are, therefore, declared forever free." Lincoln at once declared this proclamation void, saying, "Whether it be competent for me as commander-in-chief of the army and navy to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether at any time or in any case it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which under my responsibility I reserve for myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field. These are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies or camps."

Naturally his attitude with regard to slavery

met with much condemnation from the Abolitionists. He believed in gradual emancipation, but was sufficient of an opportunist to see that emancipation might under given circumstances be suddenly brought about. He was, indeed, a great opportunist and during the early part of 1862 had been preparing his scheme of emancipation, and now that a really great victory had been won at Antietam he considered the moment had come, and so, a few days after that fight, on September 22, he issued his preliminary proclamation, which was to come into force on the first of January, 1863. By it "all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

This proclamation met with much criticism, but in the North was hailed on the whole with great enthusiasm. On the first of the year the final proclamation was issued. "I do order, and declare," commanded Lincoln, "that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free." The States were Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and certain portions of Louisiana and Virginia. The emancipation proclamation was issued, but it was another matter to put it in force. Although this by no means ended the war, it had the greatest possible effect in keeping up the spirit of the North.

Strange to say McClellan with his well-trained and well-equipped army did not follow up his victory at Antietam. It was necessary to replace him, and Lincoln made the mistake of allowing Burnside to be appointed in his stead. The result of this appoint-

ment was increased activity on Lee's part and a magnificent victory by the Southern leader over the North at Fredericksburg. This ended Burnside's brief career as general-in-chief and General Hooker took command of the forces. So far Lincoln was experimenting with his army leaders. It was not yet the fitting time for giving Grant the supreme command.

This struggle was one of the most expensive ones in the history of war, but the Secretary of the Treasury, Chase, made an admirable financier under the difficult circumstances, and Lincoln made no effort to retrench. It was not an occasion for economy.

About this time Lincoln was to receive another test. It was the hope of the European monarchs that the great Republic in America would prove a failure. They believed that the North and the South must separate, and as the costly and bloody struggle went on several of them thought of advising with regard to the situation. Louis Napoleon expressed himself as ready to mediate between the North and the South, advising that the South be quietly permitted to withdraw from the Union. Needless to say Lincoln politely but firmly refused to have anything to do with the French monarch's offers.

The war was a costly one in treasure, but vastly more so in human lives. The calls for volunteers had been nobly met by the North, but this was not sufficient, it was necessary to issue an Act enrolling all citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five. This Act roused the greatest indignation against Lincoln in certain parts of the Union, and in New York City an anti-draft mob created for a brief period a reign of terror. But the riot was put down and the draft went on. Mr. Vallandigham of Ohio

publicly attacked Lincoln in a violent speech at Mount Vernon, crying down with "King Lincoln" and urging the people to hurl the tyrant from power.

The struggle went on; the Confederates on the whole sustaining the greatest reverses, largely through lack of numbers. Their greatest loss early in 1863 was the death of that splendid commander, General Jackson. Still the North had not satisfactory generals; Hooker gave place to Meade, and shortly after this appointment the turning point of the war was passed. In July the enemies met in savage conflict at Gettysburg and out of that bloody struggle the Union came forth victor. Before the end of the month, too, Grant had occupied Vicksburg and shortly after Lincoln was able to write, "The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea."

In November of this year a burial ground was to be dedicated to the Union soldiers who fell on the historical battle-field of Gettysburg. It was on this occasion, on November 19, that Lincoln made his famous oration, which, though scarcely more than a paragraph in length, lives as one of the oratorical gems, to use Goldwin Smith's words, of the English language. What a tremendous step there is from the stump speeches that elected him to the Legislature of Illinois and these few brief sentences worthy to be studied along with the work of Demosthenes and Cicero. How this man has grown in the few short years that power has been his!

"Four-score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any

nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

In this same month Grant's star was once more in the ascendant. He reached Chattanooga, and the victory of Missionary Ridge was won. The end of the war was now for the first time in sight, and Lincoln saw that in Grant was the one man with the daring and dogged determination needful for bringing the conflict to a successful termination, and so, early in 1864, he appointed him general-in-chief. When he gave him the supreme command, he said: "You are vigilant and self-reliant, and pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraint or restraints upon

you." This was the first time that Lincoln had been able to so completely place matters in the hands of any of his generals. The war was now to take on a new phase. It was to become if anything more bloody than at the commencement, but both victories won and reverses sustained by the North were to bring the end nearer.

CHAPTER IX.

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN *(Concluded)*.

GRANT had now the supreme command of the army and a free hand. From the beginning of the struggle he had doubtless seen that the North would be successful by mere mass, and determined to engage Lee in front, and by overwhelming numbers bring the war to a speedy conclusion. He would meet the great Southern general and "pound his army to pieces."

The first great engagements of the campaign of 1864 took place in "the Wilderness" and in the "bloody angle" at Spottsylvania. Lee was in a strong position but Grant with dogged determination and a Napoleonic disregard for the lives of his men hurled his troops against him. He had made up his mind to "fight it out on this line" if it took all summer. But Lee was as determined as was the Northern general and watched his every movement with an experienced eye. Battle followed battle in May and the fields of Virginia were red with the blood of thousands of noble and brave men. Towards the end of the month Grant tried a flank movement towards Richmond. He reached Cold Harbor near Chickahominy and made another effort to crush Lee, but Lee was strong in his entrenched position and resisted the attack inflicting terrible slaughter on the

Northern forces. This convinced Grant that it would be impossible to dislodge Lee by frontal attacks, for the present at any rate, and so he became more careful.

The time had now come about for a new Presidential election. The reverses experienced by the North, the difficulty Grant was having in his effort to dislodge Lee, the fact that Lincoln was looking grimly on while tens of thousands of Northern soldiers were being slain made the enemies of the President hopeful of defeating him in the election of 1864. However, when the Republican convention met at Baltimore it unanimously, on the 8th of June, placed him in the field for President with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as Vice-President. Frémont had been nominated by a convention of malcontents which met at Cleveland, Ohio, but later in the year withdrew, and so left the Presidential campaign to be fought out between Lincoln and General George B. McClellan, the nominee of the Democratic convention which met at Chicago.

The canvass was one of the most heated in the history of Presidential elections. Lincoln's attitude with regard to emancipation had made him many enemies among the extreme Abolitionists; his uncompromising position towards the South with regard to the war and the energy with which he was conducting his war measures had made him bitter enemies in the Anti-War party; the Act compelling the enrollment of citizens which had occasioned the riots in New York had likewise created uncompromising opponents in the North. When he faced his election in 1860 he was met on all sides by threats from the Southern States of secession, and now rumours that a revolution would take place if he were

returned to the White House were prevalent in the North.

When the Democrats met in convention in Chicago they did all in their power to injure Lincoln by endeavouring to prove the war a failure, badly conducted and unnecessary, and by demanding a cessation of hostilities. There was considerable feeling in the North that the war was a failure and a tendency to think that, with the numbers the Federal government had in the field, it should long since have been concluded. However, good fortune was with Lincoln; scarcely had the members of the convention left Chicago before the turn in the tide commenced. A succession of successes in the late summer and early autumn of 1864, especially Sherman's capture of Atlanta and Sheridan's victory in the Shenandoah valley, made Lincoln more popular, a greater idol, than ever, and on November 8, he was returned with an overwhelming majority, having a vote of 2,216,000 against McClellan's 1,800,000 and an electoral vote of 212 against 21. He had carried Indiana, which was at the commencement of the canvass very doubtful, all the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, all the Western States, West Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Nevada. McClellan had but three States, New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky.

The victory was a great one; as Grant very truly said, "a victory worth more to the country than a battle won." It would have been a most disastrous thing to have changed presidents at such a moment. The South would have taken heart, the generals who had been placed in command by Lincoln would very probably have been superseded by others appointed by Lincoln's opponents, and it would have been more

than probable that Grant, who of all men was the one best fitted to finish this terrible war, would have been removed from the chief command.

The South was already beginning to weaken and began to look about for terms. Even before this there had been rumours that they were anxious to negotiate peace, and although there had been but little truth in the reports Lincoln had, in July, taken the opportunity to show his attitude on this question. He made public the following statement:

"To whom it may concern:

"Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

July 18, 1864.

In the beginning of 1865 there was an effort made to bring about peace between the North and the South. On January 31, 1865, Seward went to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, to confer with three Confederate commissioners. The following were the instructions Lincoln on this occasion gave his Secretary of State:

"You will make known to them that three things are indispensable, to-wit: First. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States. Second. No receding by the Executive of the United

States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents. Third. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government. You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say, and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything."

During the past year complications, which the Southerners hoped would now aid them, had arisen on the American continent. At the suggestion of the French Generals in Mexico the provisional government in that country had declared in favour of an Empire, and had offered the crown to Archduke Maximilian of Austria. So far the United States with the Civil war on her hands had kept scrupulously aloof from embroiling herself in the struggle that had been going on in Mexico. Now, however, she was forced to take action. The United States Congress at Washington passed a unanimous resolution against recognising a monarchy in Mexico, and, when the new sovereign approached, Minister Corwin withdrew from the city of Mexico. The Southerners endeavoured to use this peculiar situation for their own ends. At the Hampton Roads Conference held on board the Federal ship "River Queen," February 3, 1865, they proposed that there should be a cessation of the Civil war, and that the issues should be left in abeyance for the time being. For the present they felt that the North and they should join their forces to drive the French out of Mexico,—the Monroe Doctrine ought to be maintained. But Lin-

coln saw that they were playing for time and hoping that something would arise to favour their cause and so paid no heed to their proposal and the war went on.

At this same time there was another effort made to bring about peace. General Lee proposed a meeting to Grant, hoping that the war, which he now saw could have but one ending, might cease with honour to himself, but President Lincoln ordered Grant to decline the proposal. He saw that the end was near at hand, and while he wished peace, while he deplored the struggle that was exhausting the resources of the nation and cutting off thousands of her best men, he had made up his mind to have the thing finished properly and forever, with no danger of a renewal of the struggle.

The spirit of the man is magnificently shown in his second inaugural address delivered, March 4, 1865:

"At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office," he said, "there is less occasion for an extended address than at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of the course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper; now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declaration has constantly been called for concerning every point and place of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energy of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself. It is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With a high hope for the future, no prediction in that regard is ventured.

"On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to the im-

pending civil war. All dreaded it. All sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, the insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war,—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide the effects by negotiating. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let it perish,—and war came. One-eighth of the whole population were coloured slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but located in the Southern part. These slaves contributed a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew the interest would somehow cause war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected the magnitude or duration which it has already attained, neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astonishing. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God. Each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayer of both should not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully, for the Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offence come; but woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose American slavery one of those offences which, in the providence of God,

must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as was due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern that there is any departure from those divine attributes which believers in the living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away; yet if it be God's will that it continue until the wealth piled by bondsmen by two hundred and fifty years' of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

A noble address truly! The President was bearing in one hand a palm branch but in the other he held the sword. Even while he spoke Grant, his "sledge-hammer of war," was desperately endeavouring to annihilate Lee's army.

The fight was now nearing its end; Grant had an army of 111,000 foot and 13,000 cavalry, veterans the most of them, eager for war, and thoroughly equipped and abundantly supplied. Lee had opposing Grant, but 51,000 foot and 6,000 cavalry; his men, too, were ragged, half-starved and

in despair, and desertions were daily occurring. Desperate fighting went on through the month of March but with the battle of Five Forks, on April 1, the struggle drew to a close. Lee saw then that the South could maintain the struggle no longer and notified Jefferson Davis that Petersburg and Richmond must be evacuated. He left with his broken and weakened army until Appomattox Court House was reached, and there, on April 9, at Palm Sunday surrendered to Grant. He had fought gallantly, fought through the long years with but few set-backs, and had proved himself, in tactics and strategy at any rate, the greatest general engaged in the war.

Lincoln saw that the end was at hand and went to the field of conflict to witness the closing scenes of the war. He visited Richmond on April 4, amid the most enthusiastic acclaims of the soldiers, and the negroes he had freed. He then returned to Washington happy and triumphant. The Union was saved, he had malice in his heart for no man, and his big brain and bigger heart were busy working out a scheme by which the North and the South could become a united and friendly people once more. On the 11th of April he delivered his last great speech.

"We meet this evening," he said, "not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond and surrender of the principal insurgent army, gives hope of a righteous peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part gives us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked;

their honours must not be parceled out with others. I myself was near the front and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you; but no part of the honour for the plan of execution is mine. To General Grant, his skilful officers and brave men, it all belongs.....

"We all agree that the seceded States, so-called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to these States, is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding, or even considering, whether these States have ever been out of the Union than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restore the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion, whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained fifty thousand or thirty thousand, or even twenty thousand instead of twelve thousand as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the coloured man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers. Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is: Will it be wiser to take it as it is, and help to improve it, or to reject

it? Can Louisiana be brought into the proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or discarding her new State government? Some twelve thousand voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a free State constitution, giving the benefit of the public schools equally to white and black, and empowering the Legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the coloured man. This Legislature has already voted to ratify the constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These twelve thousand persons are thus fully committed to the Union, and to perpetuate freedom in the State,—committed to the very things, and nearly all the things, the nation wants; and they ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to make good this committal. Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in fact, say to the white man: 'You are worthless or worse. We will neither help you nor be helped by you.' To the blacks we say: 'This cup of liberty which these your old masters hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined, when, where, and how.' If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relation with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognise and sustain the new government of Louisiana, the reverse of all this is true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of twelve thousand to adhere to their

work, and argue for it, and proselytise for it, and fight for it, and feed it and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. The coloured man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance and energy, and daring, to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not obtain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by falling backwards over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it. Again, if we reject Louisiana, we also reject our vote in favour of the proposed amendment to the National Constitution. To meet this proposition, it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession, are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable and sure to be persistently questioned, while its ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable. I repeat the question: Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and, withal, so new and unprecedented is the whole case, that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such an exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become an entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty

to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper."

A truly statesmanlike speech this! The heart of the man was rejoicing; he had saved his cherished Union, his one thought now was to bring permanent peace and friendship to all sections of his country. He had, however, but a few days to live. This speech was uttered on the 11th of April, on the 14th he was to be struck down by the assassin's bullet.

Those last three days of his life must have been happy ones for him. The great war was practically at an end. The terrible slaughter that he had for years witnessed with a bleeding heart was finished, and emancipation was now a fact. He had for several years, contrary to the appeals of the Abolitionists, refrained from issuing his emancipation proclamation, but when it was once issued he rested not until both the House and the Senate had established it as law in the land and the majority of the States, even before his death, had put the law in force.

At length the great idea had won—man no longer in the civilized world could have right of property in his fellow man—but at what a cost! It has been estimated that the war from beginning to end cost the North and South combined no less a sum than $8,165,237,000. On the side of the North there had been in all 2,772,448 soldiers engaged and for the South 1,234,000. Nearly a million men gave their lives to free the slaves. All modern wars seem small compared with this tremendous conflict; and yet in how brief a period the country recovered from its effects.

On April 12, 1861, the Confederate shell that was the signal for the commencement of hostilities burst

over Sumter. Since that momentous event night and day, day and night, Lincoln had been occupied with the struggle that ceased not. But it was now ended and he could take a moment's rest before beginning the great work of reconstructing the Union. On the anniversary of the surrender of Sumter he decided to visit Ford's Theatre with his family to enjoy a play, "Our American Cousin." General Grant who was in Washington was to have accompanied him, but fortunately changed his mind at the last moment.

The South now no longer had any hope; she saw that it would be impossible to carry out her policy of secession. Lee who bade a noble farewell to his soldiers with the words, "Men! we have fought through this war together; I have done the best I could for you"—words as Goldwin Smith says that "might have served for Hannibal"—was prepared to accept the inevitable.

It is impossible to bid farewell to Lee without a sympathetic word. No nobler figure stands forth on the dark pages of this war. From beginning to end of the struggle he had proved himself a finished soldier. During the entire campaign while bitter words were being hurled at the "Yankees" by Southern journals and speakers he had maintained a dignified attitude, treating his enemies as noble men fighting in what they deemed a righteous cause. Of all the soldiers in this great war he alone is the one to whom could be applied unreservedly the words of Geoffrey Chaucer:

"He was a verray perfight gentil knight."

Unfortunately, however, there were in the South

and among the Southern sympathisers men of a very different stamp from Lee—fanatics of the worst type who did not know how to take a beating—and now that there was no longer hope of building up a separate republic on this continent some of them determined to avenge themselves on their vanquishers. A small knot of poor misguided men and women compared Lincoln to Cæsar and themselves to the conspirators who slew the ambitious Roman. They planned to kill not only Lincoln but the other leaders in the great Republican party and at the same time the general who had been most conspicuous in pounding their forces to pieces—Grant.

A few days before the plot was consummated the Secretary of State had been out driving and was thrown to the ground breaking his jaw in two places and dislocating his shoulder. His life was despaired of, but this fact did not deter the assassins. At ten o'clock on the evening of April 14, one Powell, alias Payne, succeeded in making an entrance to his sick room. He sprang upon the Secretary, striking viciously at him with a bowie-knife. Seward was severely wounded, and his throat was "cut on both sides, his right cheek nearly severed from his face." Fortunately, however, none of the wounds proved fatal. The assassin after doing his brutal work succeeded in making his escape.

Seward had never had any serious fears of assassination. He was an optimist and did not believe that Americans could be capable of such dastardly acts.

"There is no doubt," he once said, "that from a period anterior to the breaking out of the insurrection, plots and conspiracies for purposes of assassination have been frequently formed and organised.

And it is not unlikely that such an one as has been reported to you is now in agitation among the insurgents. If it be so it need furnish no ground for anxiety. Assassination is not an American practice or habit, and one so vicious and desperate cannot be engrafted into our political system.

"This conviction of mine has steadily gained strength since the Civil war began. Every day's experience confirms it. The President, during the heated season, occupies a country-house near the Soldiers' Home, two or three miles from the city. He goes to and comes from that place on horseback, night and morning, unguarded. I go there unattended at all hours, by daylight and by moonlight, by starlight and without any light."

This, however, was written at a time when the South still hoped. The attempt on his life was the work of desperate men who saw themselves and their cause ruined.

It will be seen from this that Lincoln during his residential career took practically no precautions against assassination. It was not because he did not believe such a thing possible. He had frequently been threatened, but he met threats with a bold front, saying on one occasion: "If they kill me, the next man will be just as bad for them. In a country like this where our habits are simple, and must be, assassination is always possible, and will come if they are determined upon it."

On the night of the 14th he took his place in the State box of Ford's Theatre amid the cheers of an enthusiastic and thankful people. Shortly after he entered, Wilkes Booth, a Southerner, a half-crazed actor, succeeded in gaining an entrance to the box and at short range shot the President behind the

left ear. Major Rathbone who was with the President grappled with the assassin, but Booth succeeded in breaking away, wounding the Major with a long thin knife he carried. He then boldly leaped from the box to the stage, and strutting across it before the amazed audience who did not yet realize what had occurred, brandished his bloody knife and shouted the State motto of Virginia "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" He made his escape from the theatre, but was pursued and twelve days later shot in a barn near Port Royal on the Rappahannock.

The assassination was a cowardly deed, repudiated by every right-thinking man in the South. It was, in truth, a severer blow to her than to the North. In a way, Lincoln's work for the North was done. He had saved the Union, that was the great task for which he had been raised up by Heaven. On the impulse given by him other and weaker men could reconstruct the government. Had he lived out his life some of his glory might have become tarnished. The repugnance of the people of the United States to a third term would doubtless have forced him to retire to private life in 1868. Out of political struggles he, however, would hardly have been able to keep and the maelström of political strife would doubtless have dragged him down somewhat. He died with his harness on, died just as the great struggle for the emancipation of the slaves closed. He died too soon, however, for he was sorely needed by the Southern States. His one hope, his one desire, was to bring them again into the Union: bring them in, not force them in, and he was even at the hour of his death no doubt reflecting how he could show his Southern friends that he could forget. During the whole war he had had no bitter words for the

Southern soldiers. In his heart was no malice for any man. The only effect of his death was to make it harder for the South.

The North shivered under the blow, it was hard to realise that the man who had carried them through the severest storm of their national career, severer even than the great revolution which had made them a nation, was no more. "It was," says W. O. Stoddard, in his *Life of Lincoln,* "as if there had been a death in every house throughout the land. By both North and South alike the awful news was received with a shudder and a momentary spasm of unbelief. Then followed one of the most remarkable spectacles in the history of the human race, for there is nothing else at all like it on record. Bells had tolled before at the death of a loved ruler, but never did all bells toll so mournfully as they did that day. Business ceased. Men came together in public meetings as if by a common impulse, and party lines and sectional hatred seemed to be obliterated."

Seven days after his death his body left Washington for Springfield. All along the route great crowds flocked to look with solemn reverence upon his face; villagers recognised in him a man like themselves, a man who had lived their lives and knew their needs; leaders of thought in the great centres of life had learned to look upon Lincoln as one of a different breed from themselves, a man God-inspired, a born ruler, one of the few who saw intuitively the needs of his race and who knew when and how to act.

His death inspired one of the noblest poems ever penned by any poet. Walt Whitman's tribute to

the memory of the man he followed with loving zeal will live as long as Lincoln's memory lives.

O Captain ! my Captain ! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring ;

But, O heart ! heart ! heart !
Oh, the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain ! my Captain ! rise up and hear the bells :
Rise up !—For you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills,
For you bouquets and ribboned wreaths—for you the shores
a-crowding ;
For you they call, the swaying mass their eager faces turning.

Here Captain ! dear father !
This arm beneath your head !
It is some dream that on the deck
You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still ;
My father does not feel my arm, he has nor pulse nor will ;
The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage closed and
done
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won :

Exult O shores, and ring O bells !
But I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead."

An equally noble tribute was given at the time of his death by the ablest man America's pulpit has produced, Henry Ward Beecher,—as true as it was noble.

"And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and States are his pall-bearers, and the cannon speaks the hours with solemn progression. Dead, dead, dead, he yet

speaketh. Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is any man that was ever fit to live dead? Disenthralled of flesh, risen to the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life is now grafted upon the infinite, and will be fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome. Ye people, behold the martyr whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty."

The Nation, now that Lincoln was taken, recognised that as Washington had been the great American of the eighteenth century so was he the great American of the nineteenth. He had proved himself the firmest of all the presidents of the United States, and yet gentle withal. He had won his way into a million hearts by his kindly acts and his kindly words. Through his keen, discriminating mind he had forced the European Powers to recognise the greatness of the United States, and when he was taken left behind him an ideal for Americans to strive towards. His life had been shaped by integrity and duty, by trust in Providence, and an intense love for his fellow-beings.

CHAPTER X.

PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

(One Administration, 1865-1869.)

Lincoln was no more! His assassins had hoped that with his death utter confusion would follow and that the government would crumble to the ground. They had, however, reckoned without their host.

His work was done; the North knew that the South could never again regain its old power, and the South itself recognised that it was in a state of utter collapse. The Secessionists had utterly failed in their purpose, which was to destroy the Union by destroying the man whose will had held the Union forces together for the past four years. There was a fierce outcry on the death of the President, but no confusion among the men who were at the helm of state. They acted promptly and at once sent the following message to the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson:

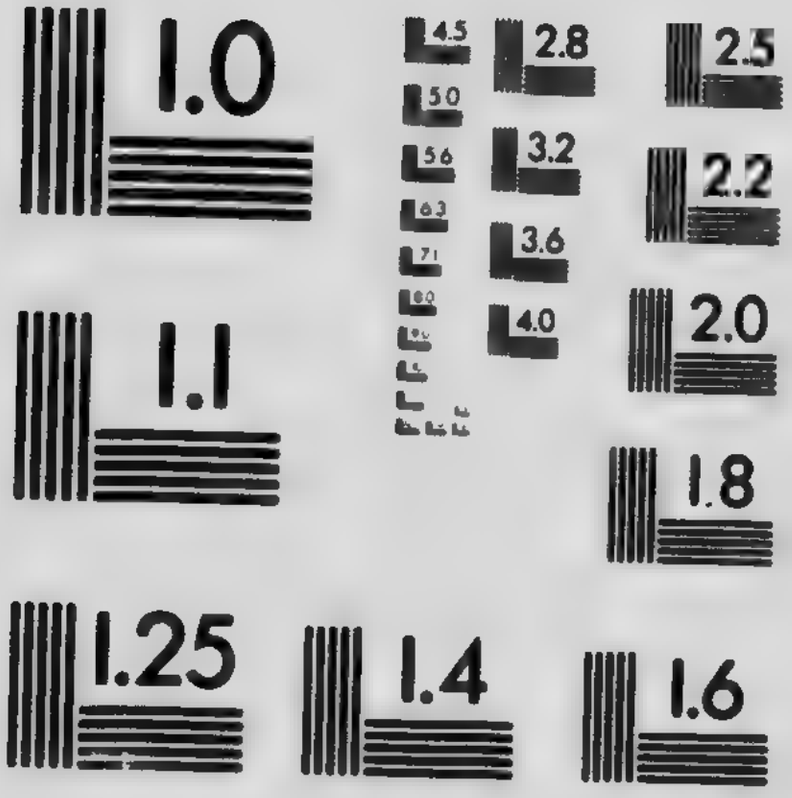
"Washington City, April 15, 1865.

"Andrew Johnson, Vice-President of the United States:

"Sir—Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was shot by an assassin last evening at Ford's Theatre, in this city, and died at the hour of twenty-

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

two minutes after seven o'clock. About the same time at which the President was shot, an assassin entered the sick chamber of Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, and stabbed him in several places in the throat, neck, and face, severely, if not mortally, wounding him. Other members of the Secretary's family were dangerously wounded by the assassin while making his escape.

"By the death of President Lincoln, the office of President has devolved, under the Constitution, upon you. The emergency of the government demands that you should immediately qualify according to the requirements of the Constitution, and enter upon the duties of President of the United States. If you will please make known your pleasure, such arrangements as you deem proper will be made.

"Your Obedient Servants,

"HUGH MCCULLOCH,
"Secretary of the Treasury.
"EDWIN M. STANTON,
"Secretary of War.
"GIDEON WELLES,
"Secretary of the Navy.
"WILLIAM DENNISON,
"Postmaster-General.
"J. P. USHER,
"Secretary of the Interior.
"JAMES SPEED,
"Attorney-General."

Thus was Andrew Johnson who began life as an illiterate tailor boy, unable either to read or write until he had almost reached manhood's estate, suddenly ushered into the highest position in the gift of thirty millions of people. At first there was a little

doubt as to how he would act. From his parentage, his education, his career, many held that it was fitting that he should be the successor to one whose life had been in many ways similar to his own; but he had not Lincoln's heart, and many on the other hand feared that the humane policy of Lincoln might now be reversed and that the Secessionists would be treated harshly by a man who had personally suffered much from them.

Who was this Andrew Johnson? A son of "poor whites," who lived in Raleigh, North Carolina, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was born on December 29, 1808; his father a man of humble occupation was employed at various duties, being at once constable, sexton and porter of a bank. When Andrew was four years old his father lost his life while endeavouring to save one Colonel Thomas Henderson. As his father had left little or no property behind him his mother was forced to work for her own living and her young son's. As a result, for the next six or eight years Andrew spent much of his time in the streets while his mother laboured with her hands for their daily bread. There was no public school system in North Carolina in those days, and so young Johnson passed his youth without being able either to read or write. At the age of ten or twelve he was apprenticed to a tailor by the name of Shelby and worked for him for some years.

It was while working in this man's employ that he first got his bent after intellectual things. A kindly old gentleman was wont to come to the tailor shop and occasionally read to the workmen from a book called "The American Speaker." It contained principally speeches by eminent British statesmen and as Andrew Johnson listened to the lofty periods and

lofty sentiments of the great men of the old world and the new his mind took fire and he longed for the power to express what was in him as they had expressed what was in them. He had the will to learn and the way opened up. This kindly disposed gentleman and some of his fellow-workmen gave him an insight into the mysteries of reading, and by the time he was sixteen he could manage to spell his way through most of "The American Speaker" for himself. He borrowed books and took much time from rest and recreation in improving his mind.

He, however, seems to have been not without mischievous qualities and through a propensity for throwing stones had to hurriedly leave his native town. He procured work at Laurens Court-House, South Carolina, but after two years sojourn there returned to Raleigh and endeavoured to get employment from his old master, but Mr. Shelby demanded security for good behaviour, and, as Andrew was unable to give this, he was compelled to look for work elsewhere. His mother had married again and it would seem as if her circumstances were not much bettered by her second union, for we find now that Andrew, his mother, and step-father set out in a two-wheeled cart, drawn by a blind pony for Greenville, Tennessee. Here he found work and very shortly after his arrival there something that was much better to him than work or money,—an excellent helpmate in Eliza McCardle. He was but nineteen, had neither money nor education, but he fearlessly and wisely married. His new circumstances in life made him determined to better his position by seeking work in the West. He, however, failed to find it and returned to Greenville and worked industriously at his trade. While he worked at his bench he still burned

with a desire for knowledge, and his wife, who was a woman of considerable education, helped him in every way she could, reading to him while he stitched at the bench. She likewise taught him writing and arithmetic, things of which he had no knowledge until after his marriage.

He seems from the very moment that he settled in Greenville to have been a factor in the politics of the place. His quick mind and excellent judgment made him a good student of general affairs, and his fellow-workmen began to look up to him. He was a leader among the working classes from his twentieth year, and became a pronounced and ardent opponent of the aristocratic faction which had been managing affairs in Tennessee. Knowing his antecedents and his opportunity, it is with a shock of surprise that we learn that he was chosen alderman in the town of Greenville, in 1828, and further that at the age of twenty-two he was elected mayor, which position he held for three years.

He became a most active politician and from the commencement of his life was most zealous on behalf of the working classes. His first strong stand on their behalf was in 1834, when he advocated the adoption of a new State constitution which was opposed to the rich land-holders, and which gave freedom of speech and of the press and greatly increased the liberties of the masses. That he was looked upon as something more than a mere politician is evidenced from the fact that in 1831 the County Court appointed him a trustee of Rhea Academy. He was, indeed, taking a somewhat wide interest in education and the students of Greenville college were so much attracted by him that they constantly visited his shop to discuss matters of interest with him, and

he likewise frequently took part in the debates at their college.

In 1835, he was elected to the State Legislature from Greene and Washington counties. Just at this time throughout the United States there were wild schemes for internal improvements being proposed. It will be remembered that it was in the thirties that great plans for improvement were advanced in Illinois and that when Abraham Lincoln was called upon to consider them he heartily endorsed them and indeed became the leader of the movement. It was otherwise with Johnson. He had a shrewd business mind and recognised that these impending schemes were likely to plunge the State into debt, and so he vigorously opposed the measures. They, however, were carried and his opposition to these measures caused his defeat in the election to the Legislature in 1837, but events in the next two years showed that his judgment had been right, and his popularity was increased and he was returned to the Legislature in 1839. In the following year he was appointed a Presidential elector on the Democratic ticket and canvassed the greater part of Tennessee in the struggle which took place between General Harrison and Martin Van Buren. During this campaign he gained something more than a local reputation, proving himself both acquainted with the great issues of the Nation and capable of presenting these issues with eloquence and power. In 1841 he was sent to the State Senate from Greene and Hawkins counties. While in the Senate he succeeded in carrying through several wise projects for internal improvements in his section of the State.

Such a man could not long be confined to local politics. In 1843 he opposed Colonel John A.

Asken, a United States Bank Democrat, a man of ability and exceedingly popular, for the Lower House of Congress, and succeeded in defeating him. For ten years he was returned to Congress, and was one of the most active members of the House during that entire period. He had been growing in wealth, and it is worthy of note that he held a number of slaves. He seems to have had from first to last no repugnance of the institution of slavery. While in Congress he strongly advocated the annexation of Texas, not as the majority of the Southern members did in order merely to have an increased number of slave States, but because he thought Texas would "prove to be the gateway out of which the sable sons of Africa are to pass from bondage to freedom and become merged in a population congenial with themselves." He was an advocate of the "fifty-four forty or fight" doctrine on the Oregon boundary question, but afterwards sustained President Polk in his method of dealing with that question. Indeed, there was no issue before Congress in which he did not show himself interested.

New honours were in store for him. In 1853, his district in Tennessee was so gerrymandered that there was no hope of re-election to the House, and so he presented himself for the Governorship of the State and was successful. He was re-elected to this honourable position again in 1855. During his term of office as Governor he was most earnest on behalf of the working classes, and gained for himself the name of the "mechanic governor." He always seems to have been exceedingly proud of the fact that he had been a worker at the bench, and was ever ready to assert the dignity of labour. The following story, which has several versions, very well illustrates

his character. The Governor of Kentucky and he had been fellow-workmen years before and when the Kentucky Governor heard of Johnson's elevation to the Governorship he forged him a pair of shovels and tongs and sent them to him. Johnson as promptly got a piece of the finest broadcloth and made a suit of clothes and sent them to the Governor of Kentucky. The story is apochryphal, another version maintaining that it was a high official of his own State. Later in life on the floors of the Senate he expressed great pride in his humble origin: "Sir," he said, "I do not forget that I am a mechanic. Neither do I forget that Adam was a tailor and sewed fig leaves; and that our Saviour was a son of a carpenter."

In 1857, he was elected to the Senate of the United States. Once more he began his work for the masses, and as he had previously won for himself the title of the "mechanic governor" he was now called the "mechanic statesman." He had fought for a homestead bill while in Congress, and at once began his battle for this measure in the Senate and succeeded in having it carried through in 1860. However, it was vetoed by Buchanan. His position in the Senate was somewhat equivocal. He took sides with the South in its view that Congress had not the power to prevent the extension of slavery in the Territories; at the same time there was no Northern man more pronounced for the Union. His attitude on behalf of the Union lost him much influence in the South and his acceptance of slavery as a Constitutional fact did much to make the Northern men distrust him.

In the Charleston and Baltimore Convention of 1860 the Tennessee delegation proposed him as a

candidate for the Presidency; however, as he was scarcely known outside of his own State his name was not considered. He sustained Breckenridge, the extreme advocate of slavery from the South. While he was a Union man he was thoroughly in sympathy with the slave-holders as such, but when Lincoln was successful in November and when the Secessionists began to threat and to act he spoke with no uncertain voice.

In March, 1861, two days before the inauguration of President Lincoln, he said in the Senate: "Were I the President of the United States, I would do as Thomas Jefferson did in 1806 with Aaron Burr: I would have them arrested and try them for treason, and if convicted, by the eternal God, they should suffer the penalty of the law at the hands of the executioner!"

This utterance is thoroughly characteristic of Andrew Johnson. The extreme and extravagant language in it was but a forerunner of the wild utterances which, as President, he was to make against Congress. However, although extravagant in language and somewhat hot-headed there was no braver man in the Union. The following incident from his life, and it is by no means exceptional, shows that he could act as well as speak:

"He was announced to speak on one of the exciting questions of the day, and loud threats were uttered that if he dared to appear he should not leave the hall alive. At the appointed hour, he ascended to the platform, and advancing to the desk, laid his pistol upon it. He then addressed the audience in terms as near the following as our informant could recollect: 'Fellow citizens, it is proper when freemen assemble for the discussion of important interests,

that everything should be done decently and in order. I have been informed that part of the business to be transacted on the present occasion is the assassination of the individual who now has the honour of addressing you. I beg respectfully to propose this to be the first business in order. Therefore, if any man has come here to-night for the purpose indicated, I do not say to him, let him speak, but let him shoot.' Here he paused with his right hand on his pistol and the other holding open his coat, while with his eyes he blandly surveyed the assembly. After a pause of half a minute, he resumed: 'Gentlemen, it appears that I have been misinformed. I will now proceed to address you on the subject that has called us together,' which he did, with all his accustomed boldness and vivacity, not sparing his adversaries, but giving them plenty of pure Tennessee."

He broke with the South utterly on the question of secession, and the North had no abler advocate of the Union than Senator Johnson. The following speech by him is one of the ablest expositions of the relation of the seceding States to the Union.

"Now let me ask," he said, "can any one believe that in the creation of this government its founders intended that it should have the power to acquire territory and form it into States, and then permit them to go out of the Union? Let us take a case. How long has it been since your armies were in Mexico? How have we exposed them to the diseases, and the sufferings incident to a campaign of that kind; many of them falling at the point of the bayonet, consigned to their long, narrow home, with no winding sheet but their blankets saturated with blood? What did Mexico cost you? One hundred and twenty million dollars. What did you pay for

the country you acquired besides? Fifteen million dollars.

"Peace was made, territory acquired, and in a few years, California, from that territory, erected herself into a free and independent State. Under the provisions of the Constitution we admitted her as a member of this Confederacy. And now, after having expended our one hundred and twenty million dollars in the war, after having lost many of our most brave and gallant men; after having paid fifteen million dollars to Mexico for the Territory and admitted it into the Union as a State, according to this modern doctrine, the National government was just made to let them step in and then to let them step out! Is it not absurd to say that California, on her own volition without regard to the consideration paid for her, without regard to the policy which dictated her acquisition by the United States, can walk out and bid you defiance?

"But we need not stop here. Let us go to Texas. Texas was engaged in a revolution with Mexico. She succeeded in the assertion and establishment of her independence. She applied for admission into this family of States. After she was in, she was opposed to the debts of the war which had resulted in her separation from Mexico. She was harrassed by Indians on her border. There was an extent of territory that lies north, if my memory serves me right, embracing what is now called the territory of New Mexico. Texas had it not in her power to protect the citizens who were there. It was a dead limb, paralysed, lifeless.

"The Federal government came along as a kind physician, saying: 'We will take this limb, vitalise it by giving protection to the people, and incorporat-

ing it into a Territorial government; and in addition to that, we will give you ten million dollars, and you may retain your own public lands. And the other States we taxed in common to pay this ten million dollars! Now, after all this is done, is Texas to say, —'I will walk out of this Union?' Were there no other parties to this contract? Did we take in California, did we take in Texas, just to benefit themselves?

"Again: Take the case of Louisiana. What did we pay for her in 1803, and for what was she wanted? Was it just to let Louisiana into the Union? Was it for the benefit of that particular locality? Was not the mighty West looked to? Was it not to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi river, the mouth of which was then in the possession of France? Yes, the navigation of that river was wanted. Simply for Louisiana? No, but for all the States! The United States paid fifteen million dollars, and France ceded the country to the United States. It remained in a Territorial condition for a while, sustained and protected by the Federal government. We acquired the Territory and the navigation of the river, and the money was paid for the benefit of all the States and not of Louisiana exclusively.

"And now that this great valley is filled up; now that the navigation of the Mississippi is one hundred times more important than it was then; now, after the United States have paid the money, have acquired the title to Louisiana and have incorporated her into the Confederacy,—it is proposed that she should go out of the Union!

"In 1815, when her shores were invaded; when her city was about to be sacked; when her booty and

her beauty were about to fall a prey to British aggression,—the brave men of Tennessee and of Kentucky, and of the surrounding States, rushed into her borders and upon her shores, and under the lead of her own gallant Jackson, drove the invading forces away. And now, after all this, after the money has been paid; after free navigation of the river has been obtained—not for the benefit of Louisiana alone, but for her in common with all the States—Louisiana says to the other States:

"'We will go out of this Confederacy. We do not care if you did fight our battles; we do not care if you did acquire the free navigation of this river from France. We will go out and constitute ourselves an independent power, and bid defiance to the other States.'

"It may be that at this moment there is not a citizen in the State of Tennessee who would think of obstructing the free navigation of the river. But are not nations controlled by their interests in varying circumstances? And hereafter, when a conflict of interest arises, Louisiana might feel disposed to tax our citizens going down there. It is a power I am not willing to concede to be exercised at the discretion of any authority outside of this government. So sensitive have been the people of my State upon the free navigation of that river, that as far back as 1796, now sixty-four years ago, in their Bill of Rights, before they passed under the jurisdiction of the United States, they declared:

"'That an equal participation of the free navigation of the Mississippi is one of the inherent rights of the citizens of this State, It cannot, therefore, be conceded to any Prince, Potentate, Power, person or persons whatever.'

"This shows the estimate the people fixed on this stream sixty-four years ago; and now we are told that if Louisiana does go out, it is not her intention to tax the people above. Who can tell what may be the intention of Louisiana hereafter? Are we willing to place the rights, the travel, and the commerce of our citizens at the discretion of any power outside this government? I will not.

"How long is it since Florida lay on our coast, an annoyance to us? And now she has got feverish about being an independent and separate government, while she has not as many qualified voters as there are in one congressional district of any other State. What condition did Florida occupy in 1811? She was in the possession of Spain. What did the United States think about having an adjacent territory outside of their jurisdiction? Spain was inimical to the United States; and in view of the great principle of self-preservation the Congress of the United States passed a resolution declaring that if Spain attempted to transfer Florida into the hands of any other power, the United States would take possession of it. There was the Territory lying upon our border, outside the jurisdiction of the United States; and we declared, by an act of Congress that no foreign power should possess it.

"We went still farther and appropriated one hundred thousand dollars, and authorised the President to enter and take possession of it, with the means placed in his hands. Afterwards we negotiated with Spain, and gave six million dollars for the Territory; and we established a Territorial government for it. We undertook to drive out the Seminole Indians; and we had a war in which this government lost more than in all the other wars it was engaged in; and we

paid the sum of twenty-five million dollars to get the Seminoles out of the swamps, so that the Territory could be inhabited by white men.

"But now that the Territory is paid for, the Indians are driven out, and twenty-five million dollars have been expended, they want no longer the protection of the government, but will go out without consulting the other States; without reference to the remaining parties to the compact. Where will she go? Will she attach herself to Spain again? Will she pass back under the jurisdiction of the Seminoles? After having been nurtured and protected and fostered by all these States, now, without regard to them, is she to be allowed, at her own volition, to withdraw from the Union? I say she has no constitutional right to do it. When she does it, it is an act of aggression. If she succeeds, it will only be a successful revolution; if she does not succeed, she must take the penalties and terrors of the law.

"I have referred to the Acts of Congress for acquiring Florida as setting forth a principle. What is that principle? It is that from the geographical relations of this Territory to the United States, we authorised the president to spend a hundred thousand dollars, to get a foothold there, and especially to take possession of it if it were likely to pass to any foreign power."

The vigour with which Andrew Johnson in this speech and on other occasions set forth the cause of the Union roused against him the bitterest hostility in the South. As he journeyed homeward from Washington crowds gathered about him hooting and hissing and cursing him. He was the one lonely Southern figure standing vehemently by the Union. They burnt him in effigy, in a number of places;

they threatened him with assassination, but he remained unmoved in his allegiance to the Union. At the commencement of the war the Confederates spread themselves over Tennessee, plundering and murdering. They took vengeance on Johnson for his opposition to their views by sacking his home, stealing his slaves, driving his sick wife and children into the streets and turning his house into a hospital and barracks for their soldiers. These deeds only added fuel to the fire of his wrath and he became a still more pronounced upholder of Lincoln and his policy. He said: "We may as well talk of things as they are; for, if anything can be treason, is not levying war upon the government, treason? Is not the attempt to take the property of the Government and to expel the soldiers therefrom, treason? Is not attempting to resist the collection of the revenue, attempting to exclude the mails, and driving the Federal corps from the border, treason? What is it? It is treason, and nothing but treason. Does it need any search to find those who are levying war, and giving aid and comfort to enemies against the United States? And this is treason. Treason ought to be punished, North and South; and if there are traitors, they are entitled to traitors' rewards."

In February, 1862, the Union forces succeeded in driving the guerilla bands of the Secessionists out of the middle and western portions of Tennessee and getting possession of the country. On March 4, 1862, President Lincoln appointed Senator Johnson military governor of the State. He at once proceeded to Nashville, which place he reached on March 12, and straightway began his organisation of a provisional government. On the 18th of the month he issued a proclamation appealing to the people to

remain true to the Union. The members of the city council of Nashville would not take the oath of allegiance to the United States and he very promptly removed them and appointed loyal men in their stead. When he began his rule as military governor the Union sympathisers throughout the State were being maltreated by guerilla bands of the Confederate army, and to check this state of things he issued the following proclamation:

"I, Andrew Johnson, do hereby proclaim that in every instance in which a Union man is arrested and maltreated by marauding bands, five or more rebels, from the most prominent in the immediate neighborhood, shall be arrested, imprisoned, and otherwise dealt with as the nature of the case may require; and, further, in all cases where the property of citizens, loyal to the government of the United States, is taken or destroyed, full and ample remuneration shall be made to them out of the property of such rebels in the vicinity as have sympathised with, and given aid, comfort, information or encouragement to the parties committing such depredations."

He made an excellent governor and although trusted with almost absolute power exercised it in all cases in the interest of justice. For a time Nashville was in a state of siege, and it was due to the energies of Governor Johnson that the city was saved from the rebels. He completed the railway from Nashville to the Tennessee river and raised twenty-five regiments for service in the State. As had ever been in the case in his life the poor were his particular care. The war had left in the State many "helpless widows, wives, and children" without the necessities of life, and to provide for these he taxed

the rich Southern sympathisers within his jurisdiction.

In 1862, it was necessary to issue a proclamation for an election for members to Congress. Governor Johnson in his proclamation made the test for the voters loyalty to the Union. He wrote: "No person will be considered an elector, qualified to vote, who, in addition to the other qualifications required by law, does not give satisfactory evidence to the judges holding the election of his loyalty to the United States."

His rule in Tennessee did much to strengthen the Union cause in the State and gained for himself the respect and admiration of the North and the friendship and esteem of Abraham Lincoln. Much power had been given to him, but he had used it wisely; and, despite the personal sufferings he had had from the Secessionists at the beginning of the war, meted out justice with an equal hand.

In 1864, when the Republican Convention met in Baltimore to consider nominations, as has already been pointed out, Lincoln was unanimously chosen for President. The choice for Vice-President fell upon Andrew Johnson. He was a Southerner; but the North had no truer advocate of the Union. He had been a Democrat, and still maintained that he was one, and had opposed Lincoln in the election of 1860, but since the outbreak of the war Lincoln had had no stronger and wiser supporter than Johnson. His democratic past was forgotten and now that the war was evidently rapidly drawing towards a close it was deemed wise by many to have the Vice-President selected from the South, and there was in reality but this one man available. Of course there were plenty of Northerners who might have been nominated.

After his nomination he went to Nashville in response to an invitation to speak at a meeting at which the nomination was to be ratified. At this meeting a very impressive scene occurred. In his speech he exclaimed: "I, Andrew Johnson, do hereby proclaim freedom full, broad, and unconditional to every man in Tennessee." As the words fell from his lips the coloured people in the audience crowded about him, leaping for joy, shouting and weeping, calling him, it is said, their Moses who had led them out of the land of bondage.

At the ensuing election he was elected by a large majority. The rebellion now rapidly went to pieces and by the time of the inauguration in March it was seen that it could not last more than a few months. At the inauguration a very unhappy circumstance occurred. Johnson had been seriously ill and was in an extremely weak physical condition, his physician had advised him not to attend the ceremony, but he was naturally anxious to be present on such an important occasion in his life, and in order to brace himself took an undue amount of stimulants. The result was that his actions and words at this time somewhat shocked the nation, and did much to give a certain section of the people at any rate a distrust in him.

In April, when Petersburg and Richmond were evacuated by the Confederate army there was great rejoicing in the North, and, at an immense meeting held in Washington, Vice-President Johnson seized the opportunity to once more show how intensely his sympathies were with the Union and with President Lincoln, and how strongly he felt with regard to the Secessionists.

On this occasion he said: "At the time that the traitors in the Senate of the United States plotted

against the government and entered into a conspiracy more odious than that of Cataline against the Romans, I happened to be a member of that body, and in loyalty stood solitary and alone among the Senators from the Southern States. I was then and there called upon to show what I would do with such traitors; and I want to repeat my reply here.

"I said, if we had an Andrew Jackson he would hang them as high as Haman; and when you ask me what I would do, my reply is, I would arrest them, I would convict them, and I would hang them.....

"We can now congratulate ourselves that we possess the strongest, the freest and the best government the world ever saw. Thank God that we have lived through this trial, and that.....I can announce to you the great fact that Petersburg, the outpost to the strong Citadel, has been occupied by our brave and gallant officers and our untiring, invincible soldiers. And not content with that, they have captured the Citadel itself—the stronghold of traitors. Richmond is ours, and is now occupied by the forces of the United States. Her gates have been entered, the glorious stars and stripes, the emblem of Union, power, and of supremacy now float over the enemy's capital!.....

"I am in favour of leniency; but, in my opinion, evildoers should be punished. Treason is the highest crime known in the catalogue of crimes, and for him that is guilty of it, for him that is willing to lift his impious hands against the authority of the nation, I would say that death is too easy a punishment..... You, my friends, have traitors in your very midst, and treason needs rebuke and punishment here as well as elsewhere. It is not the men in the field who are the greatest traitors. It is the men who have

encouraged them to imperil their lives, while they themselves have remained at home, expending their means and exerting all their power to overthrow the government. Hence, I say this; the halter to intelligent influential traitors. But to the honest boy, to the deluded man, I would extend leniency; I would say, return to your allegiance, renew your support to the government, and become a good citizen; but the leaders I would hang. I hold, too, that wealthy traitors should be made to remunerate those men who have suffered as a consequence of their crime—Union men who have lost their property, who have been driven from their homes, beggars and wanderers among strangers."

Within two weeks after this vigorous speech was uttered President Lincoln was assassinated, and Andrew Johnson was called to preside over the destinies of his country at one of the most critical moments in her history. There were, in the hearts of many people, wonder and fear. How he would act no man could be sure, but many were afraid that he would prove himself over-severe with the Secessionists. However, there was nothing for it but to await the course of events.

He was sworn in as President in his rooms in the Kirkwood House by Chief Justice Chase, and in the address he delivered at that time still left the nation wondering how he would act.

"I must," he said, "be permitted to say that I have been almost overwhelmed by the announcement of the sad event which has so recently occurred. I feel incompetent to perform duties so important and responsible as those which have been so unexpectedly thrown upon me. As to an indication of any policy which may be pursued by me in the ad-

ministration of the government, I have to say that that must be left for development, as the administration progresses. The message or declaration must be made by the acts as they transpire. The only assurance that I can give now of the future is by reference to the past. The course which I have taken in the past in connection with this rebellion must be regarded as a guarantee for the future. My past public life, which has been long and laborious, has been founded, as I in good conscience believe, upon a great principle of right, which lies at the basis of all things. The best energies of my life have been spent in endeavouring to establish and perpetuate the blessing of free government; and I believe that the government, in passing through its present trials, will settle down upon principles consistent with popular rights more permanent and enduring than heretofore. I must be permitted to say, if I understand the feelings of my own heart, I have long laboured to ameliorate and alleviate the condition of the great mass of the American people. Toil and an honest advocacy of free government have been my lot. The duties have been mine—the consequences are God's. This has been the foundation of my political creed. I feel that in the end the government will triumph, and that these great principles will be permanently established."

It will be seen that in this inaugural address as president he was absolutely non-committal. Lincoln had outlined a humane policy of reconstruction, but with regard to the wishes of his great predecessor Johnson had said nothing. This, coupled with the fact that he had strongly opposed the terms of surrender granted to General Lee by General Grant, made the public fear that a reign of terror might follow his

accession to the Presidential chair. However, from the first he seems to have determined to adopt a policy of forbearance to the Southern masses while being relentless towards their leaders.

The difficult work of reconstruction began with the surrender of the army of General Joseph E. Johnston. Trade restrictions were removed, a general amnesty to all, save certain specified classes of citizens whose taxable property was over twenty thousand dollars, was declared. In this last act he would seem to have been actuated by personal feeling.

Difficulties, however, began to arise almost at once between the President and Congress. In the Constitution there was no provision made for the readmission of a State which had withdrawn from the Union. The President took the ground which Lincoln had taken, that the States were never out of the Union. He seemed now to return with vehemence to his old Democratic State-rights attitude. He held that the States were not responsible, but the individual leaders of the Rebel party; and he held further that if the States applied for readmission, on application they could not be refused. On the other hand the Republican leaders maintained that the action of the seceding States had deprived them of all rights.

When the Congress met in December, 1865, the members were determined to protect the emancipated slaves, and from the beginning there was between President Johnson and Congress a bitterness of feeling that very soon became open strife.

The position to which Andrew Johnson was so suddenly elevated by the unexpected death of Lincoln was too much for the man. A faithful alderman, a good mayor, an industrious Congressman, a

wise governor he had been, but the qualities for President he lacked. He was now the executive officer of a country intensely Republican, but he seems to have returned to the Democratic principles of his youth, and somewhat to his pro-slavery point of view. Up to this time his career was such an excellent one that the historian of his life cannot but wish that the veil could be drawn across the four years in which he occupied the Presidential chair, and that his actions and speeches during these years could be blotted from the record of time.

It was now war to the knife between Johnson and Congress. Congress maintained that no State should be admitted until it had granted the right of suffrage to the negroes within its borders, but the President held, true to the State-rights position of his early political career, that that was a matter for the States and beyond the control of Congress. He began his work of reorganising the rebel States and it was soon maintained, and not without considerable justice, that the slaves' condition was no better under the new government than it had been under the old. The first great breach was on the Freedman's Bureau Bill which the President vetoed, but which was passed over his veto. This was but the forerunner of a number of similar acts designed to give the negro the right of suffrage, and as fast as the acts were passed by Congress they were vetoed by the President. The climax of the struggle was reached in March, 1867, by the passage over the President's veto of the Tenure of Office Bill.

"The Bill provided that civil officers should remain in office until the confirmation of their successor; that the members of the cabinet should be removed only with the consent of the Senate; and

that when Congress was not in session, the President could suspend, but not remove, any official; and in case the Senate at the next session should not ratify the suspension the official should be reinducted into his office."

On August 5, 1867, Edwin M. Stanton, the sole remaining member of President Lincoln's cabinet was requested to resign his office as Secretary of War. Stanton refused to do so; the President suspended him and appointed General Grant in his place. Congress would not ratify the suspension and Grant resigned, Stanton returning to office. But Johnson was not to be thwarted; despite the Tenure of Office Bill he removed the Secretary of War and appointed to the position Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General of the United States Army. This act was declared illegal by the Senate and on February 24, 1868, the House took the extreme measure of passing a resolution for the impeachment of the President. The trial began in March, 1868, the main reason given for the impeachment was the President's violation of the Tenure of Office Act.

While the trial was in progress the President made his famous tour through the Northwest which is generally known as his "swinging round the circle" tour, because in his speeches he boasted, and truly, that he had occupied every important office in the country from Alderman to President. At different times of his life he had been guilty of intemperate language. He was frequently hot-headed and violent in speech, and now he seems to have given loose reins to his anger, and on many occasions, before vast crowds, during this tour he was guilty of most undignified and extravagant language His speeches at

this time did much to justify Congress in endeavouring to impeach him.

The peroration to a speech at Cleveland, in 1866, is a good example of the violent nature of Andrew Johnson brought out by the opposition of Congress, —and this speech is mild and gentle compared with the one that he delivered at St. Louis in the same year.

"Let me say to you of the threats from your Stevenses, Sumners, Phillips, and all that class, I care not for them. As they once talked about forming a 'league with hell and a covenant with the devil' I tell you, my countrymen here to-night, though the power of hell, death, and Stevens with all his powers combined, there is no power that can control me save you the people and the God that spoke me into existence. In bidding you farewell here to-night, I would ask you, with all the pains Congress has taken to calumniate and malign me, what has Congress done? Has it done anything to restore the Union of the States? But, on the contrary, has it not done everything to prevent it?

"And because I stand now as I did when the Rebellion commenced, I have been denounced as a traitor. My countrymen here to-night, who has suffered more than I? Who has run greater risks? Who has borne more than I? But Congress, factious, domineering, tyrannical—Congress has undertaken to poison the minds of the American people, and create a feeling against me in consequence of the manner in which I have distributed the public patronage.

"While this gang—this common gang of cormorants and blood-suckers—have been fattening upon the country for the past four or five years—men never

going into the field, who growl at being removed from their fat offices, they are great patriots! Look at them all over your district! Everybody is a traitor that is against them. I think the time has come when those who stayed at home and enjoyed offices for the last four or five years—I think it would be no more than right for them to give way and let others participate in the benefits of office. Hence you can see why it is that I am traduced and assaulted. I stood up by these men who were in the field, and I stand by them now."

Such language as this could but shock the Nation. His speeches during this tour were without any redeeming trait. It is true, that Congress was not over-anxious to conciliate the South, but it is equally true that Andrew Johnson did much by his intemperate utterances to create a dividing wall between the North and the South that was not completely pulled down until the soldiers of the Union fought side by side to drive Spain from America.

He had a narrow escape from impeachment. Thirty-five voted against him and nineteen for acquittal. It required but one more vote to convict him. However, the matter rested there; the Senate adjourned *sine die*, and he stood acquitted. When his term of office as President expired, a feeble effort was made by some of his adherents to have him renominated for the Presidency. But it was hopeless; he had too thoroughly disgusted the nation to ever have the opportunity given him of again filling the Presidential chair.

He returned to his Tennessee home, ran for the Senate, but was defeated. Towards the end of his life he seems to have got back some of his old influence and was elected to the Senate in January, 1875.

During this year he made a vigorous and, as was his wont, a violent attack upon General Grant, reminding his hearers of the day when on the floor of the Senate he stood the lone Southerner battling for the Union. He had not long to live, however. In July, 1875, he was smitten down with paralysis and died on the 30th of the month.

The story of the latter part of his life does not make pleasant reading. Had he never been President he might have gone down to history as one of the noble buttresses of Lincoln, but his excellent work for the Union in the Senate and his exceptional skill as a ruler in Tennessee during the early years of the war are forgotten by many and he is thought of as Andrew Johnson the President who barely escaped impeachment for his attempts to play the tyrant.

CHAPTER XI.

PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT.

(Two Administrations, 1869-1873, 1873-1877.)

The three names that will ever stand forth on the pages of American history as the greatest unifiers of their country's life are Washington, Lincoln and Grant. The latter did probably more than any other man to save the Union, but in doing it he was forced to spend his soldiers with a Napoleonic prodigality. However, his countrymen recognised the wisdom of his methods and raised him to the highest office in their gift. His common sense and his daring attracted men from the East and West alike, and his generous conduct towards his foes, his praise of the brave men and skilful and dashing leaders in the Confederate army won him many friends in the South. His popularity became so great that he was elected the eighteenth president of his country.

Although President Grant was not able to trace his ancestry back to the Norman Conquest, his family was among the oldest in America. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Puritans of England found that the things they cherished most were denied them in their own country, and loving freedom of worship more than comfort or even life they left

the dear homeland to brave the storms of the Atlantic and the wildernesses and savages of America. It was in 1620 that the crowded "Mayflower" made her stormy passage from Plymouth to Cape Cod Bay. Persecution continued, and, in 1630, Laud, Bishop of London, enforced conformity to the full ritual of the prayer book in his diocese. In this same year we find an extensive migration of Puritans to Massachusetts and elsewhere, and among them came one Mathew Grant and his wife Priscilla. As nothing is known of the Grant family in the old world, save a marriage record, the ancestor hunter will have to be contented with the family as it is found in America after the landing of Mathew and Priscilla at Nantasket, May 30, 1630.

Although coming from England they were no doubt of Scotch origin but when the forebears of Mathew crossed the Tweed is known to no man. The Grants with their fellow passengers on the "Mary and John" settled at what is now South Boston; but the place which has since become such a centre of culture and trade was not peculiarly well suited for an infant colony, and after enduring many hardships and being for a time on the verge of starvation some of the colonists decided to move to the fertile Connecticut valley. Mathew was no doubt impelled to join these immigrants on account of a loss he had sustained four years after his arrival in the country. His wife Priscilla had succumbed to the hardships of the new life, and he was glad to get away from the scenes of his loss. Ten years after Priscilla's death he married Mrs. Susannah Rockwell a widow with eight children. He lived to the good old age of eighty-eight and left behind him twelve children. It was from this man that the greatest American sol-

dier, and one of the greatest army leaders that the world has ever seen, sprang.

Although General Grant was no Puritan, in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term, his ancestors lived in him, and when he says in his memoirs that he never used a profane expletive in his life it is no boast, it is merely the voice of the Puritan speaking through him. Indeed, a close student of Cromwell's career will find that as soldiers they resembled each other in many ways. A Puritan in a sense Grant remained to the end of his days. It could hardly have been otherwise; a man cannot break altogether with his past, and it is only necessary to examine the genealogical tree of President Grant to see how thoroughly his ancestors were Puritan. Note some of the names: Mathew, Priscilla, Noah, Solomon, Martha, Susannah, Rachel, Jesse, Hannah—such names would have not a little to do with shaping a man's character.

While the Grants were ever an austere people, there were fighters among them too; and in the French war of 1756 two of them, Noah and his brother Solomon, held commissions in the English army and were killed, gallantly fighting near Fort William Henry. A little later another Noah (Noah seems to have been the favourite name with the family) was an officer in the Revolutionary army. He fought at Lexington, was in the struggle at Bunker's Hill, and distinguished himself throughout the entire War of Independence. While fighting for his country his wife died. His old home lost all its attractions for him, and, in 1790, he moved towards the West and settled in Pennsylvania in Westmoreland County near Greensburg. Like his ancestor Mathew he found solace in the wilderness and married a

widow, Rachel Kelly, by whom he had seven children, the fourth of whom was Jesse Grant, the father of U. S. Grant.

When Jesse was five years old the fertile lands of Ohio drew Noah still farther west and he moved there with his family. At this time the Indians were pressing hard on the frontier settlers. The settlement of Deerfield in which Jesse Grant had located was in danger, but he organised a force, went out against the red men, punished them somewhat severely and there was no further trouble. These facts are important to the student of the life story of General Grant. It will be seen that by birth he was well fitted to enter upon the career that was to enable him to successfully lead the largest army of modern times in battle. The stories of his military ancestors Noah and Solomon in the French wars, and of Noah in the Indian war could not but be an inspiration to the quick-witted boy.

When Jesse Grant was old enough to work he was apprenticed to a tanner and in due time prospered so far as to be able to set up for himself, first at Ravenna and afterwards at Point Pleasant in Claremont County. It was in this latter place that Hiram Ulysses Grant was born. Thus he was christened, and it was by a mere accident that he became known to the world as Ulysses S. Grant.

When he was recommended for West Point by Thomas L. Hamer, the Member of Congress for Georgetown District (the Grants were at this time living in Georgetown) by mistake his name was sent to the authorities as Ulysses Simpson Grant, and, once on the books, red-tape would not allow it to be changed, and by this name he was to go down to history. He never seemed to have had much affec-

tion for his original name, and altered it himself to Ulysses H. Grant for fear of the remarks the initials H. U. G. might occasion among his classmates.

His mother, Hannah Simpson, was a superior woman,—quiet, austere, kindly, undemonstrative; her illustrious son inherited many of the best traits of his character from her. She and her husband were both anxious that their children should have every opportunity of succeeding in life, and kept them at school as much as circumstances would permit. But the village schools in Ohio were, like nearly all the ordinary schools in America at that date, in a very backward condition. In his *Personal Memoirs* President Grant thus wrote of his early education:

"The schools, at the time of which I write, were very indifferent. There were no free schools, and none in which the scholars were classified. They were all supported by subscription and a single teacher—who was often a man or a woman incapable of teaching much, even if they imparted all they knew—would have thirty or forty scholars, male and female, from the infant learning the A B C's up to the young lady of eighteen and the boy of twenty, studying the highest branches taught—the three R's, 'Reading, 'Riting, and 'Rithmetic.' I never saw an algebra, or other mathematical work higher than the arithmetic in Georgetown, until after I was appointed to West Point. I then bought a work on algebra in Cincinnati, but having no teacher it was Greek to me."

For the most part his leisure moments from school were spent in toil. At the age of eight he was employed in drawing firewood for the house and shop, and from that time until he went to West Point

helped on the farm and in his father's tannery, and had besides visited the country for miles about, driving passengers to and from Maysville, Cincinnati, and Louisville. The following passage from his *Memoirs* will show the training that the future president received in the great school of the world in his Georgetown home:

"When I was seven or eight years of age, I began hauling all the wood used in the house and shop. I could not load it on the waggons, of course, at that time, but I could drive, and the choppers would load and some one at the house unload. When about eleven years old, I was strong enough to hold a plough. From that age until seventeen I did all the work done with horses, such as breaking up the land, furrowing, ploughing corn and potatoes, bringing in the crops when harvested, hauling all the wood, besides tending two or three horses, a cow or two, and sawing wood for stoves, etc., while still attending school. For this I was compensated by the fact that there was never any scolding or punishing by my parents, no objections to rational enjoyments, such as fishing, going to the creek a mile away to swim in summer time, taking a horse and visiting my grandparents in the adjoining county, fifteen miles off, skating on the ice in winter, or taking a horse and sleigh when there was snow on the ground."

From his earliest days he was exceedingly fond of horses and as a child could handle the most difficult mounts and won quite a local reputation as a horse trainer. He never took kindly to the tannery. Boy-like he enjoyed watching the slow-gaited horse grinding the bark in the bark-mill, but he showed no desire to learn the tanner's trade. He was in many ways old for his years, but was not above riding a

trick mule at a circus and indulging in other amusements that delight boys. On one occasion he was almost drowned but was rescued by Daniel Ammen, afterwards Admiral Ammen.

His parents saw that there was good stuff in their eldest boy, stuff that could only be brought out by a superior education. Although they were frugal and industrious they could not hope to pay his expenses at college. The father thought of West Point, but as every member of the House of Representatives had the authority to appoint from among his constituents but one cadet to the United States Military Academy at West Point, and as a son of Dr. Bailey had already received the appointment from Thomas L. Hamer, Member of Congress from the Georgetown District there seemed but little hope in that direction. Fortunately for the Grants and the world, young Bailey failed to pass the required examination, and Jesse Grant lost no time in making application for his son. He told his son of his action and the latter, afraid of failure, at once declared that he would not go; his father remarked "I think you will;" and he did.

Jesse Grant had no thought of his son taking up a military career at this time. His only desire was that he should receive a good education at the least possible cost, and the training he would get at West Point would help him in any calling in life he might select. At this time he was a most unlikely lad to enter on a military life. He was a lightweight; but little over five feet in height and not much over a hundred pounds in weight, in fact if he had been an inch shorter he would not have been admitted to West Point. He had, however, an excellent substitute for inches—will. So he went to West Point,

faced an examination which he dreaded, found it easy and began his life in an institution which at that time had within its walls many men who were afterwards to win renown for their gallant services in either the army of the North or the South.

On his road to West Point he managed to see something of the larger world, staying for a few days at both Philadelphia and New York—not a very good preparation for his examination. However it seems not to have interfered much with his work, and he succeeded where his fellow-townsman Bailey had failed. Poor Bailey seems to have played the game of life in hard luck. He did not give up his aspirations to become a soldier and we find him in the Civil war with the rank of major, but he was killed in his first engagement in West Virginia.

When young Grant began his life at West Point he seems to have had little enthusiasm for his work, excepting when on horseback. But that he had ambition and hopes that his ambition would be realized is evident from his letters to his parents. The first to his mother, written immediately after entering West Point, shows what a deep influence her strong character had on him and likewise the reason why during his career he was guilty of no meanness, no base action, and had ever a lofty and serious ideal.

"I was so often alone with you," he wrote, "and you so frequently spoke to me in private, that the solitude of the situation here at the Academy among my silent books, and in my lonely room is all the more striking. It reminds me the more forcibly of home, and most of all, dear mother, of you. But, in the midst of all this, your kindly instructions and admonitions are ever present with me. I trust they

may never be absent from me as long as I live. How often do I think of them, and how well they strengthen me in every good word and work! My dear mother, should I progress with my studies at West Point and become a soldier of my country I am looking forward with hope to have you spared to share with me any advancement I may make."

His letter to his father written some time after this letter to his mother shows that despite his apparent indifference he had yearnings for future renown. In this letter he says: "I am rendered serious by the impressions which crowd upon me here at West Point. My thoughts are frequently occupied with a hatred I am made to feel towards traitors to my country as I look around me on the memorials that remain of the treason of Arnold. I am full of the conviction of scorn and contempt, which my young and inexperienced pen is unable to express in this letter, towards the conduct of any man who at any time could strike at the liberties of such a nation as ours. If ever a man should be found in our Union base enough to make the attempt to do this—if, like Arnold, they should secretly seek to sell our national inheritance for the mess of pottage of wealth, or power, or section—West Point sternly reminds them of what you, my father, would have your son do. As I stand here in this national fort, a student of arms under our country's flag, I know full well how you would have me act in such an emergency. I trust my future conduct in such an hour would prove worthy of the patriotic instructions you have given."

However he was not a diligent student, and although he was unexcelled as a horseman, excepting in mathematics, for which he had considerable aptitude, his academic career was far from a brilliant

one. Of his course at West Point he says: "A military life had no charms for me and I had not the faintest idea of staying in the army, even if I should be graduated, which I did not expect. . . . . Mathematics was very easy to me, so that, when January came, I passed the examination, taking a good standing in that branch. In French, the only other study at that time in the first year's course, my standing was very low. In fact, if the class had been turned the other end foremost I should have been near the head. I never succeeded in getting squarely at either end of my class in any one study during the four years. I came near it in French, artillery, infantry and cavalry tactics, and conduct." Of his career at West Point he further remarks: "I had not been 'called out' as a corporal, but when I returned from furlough I found myself the last but one—about my standing in all the tactics—of eighteen sergeants. The promotion was too much for me. That year my standing in the class—as shown by the number of demerits of the year—was about the same as it was among the sergeants, and I was dropped, and served the fourth year as a private."

Cadet Grant possessed a good deal of originality and was a general favorite with his classmates and, despite his indolence, with his teachers. After he became famous there were those who remembered that it had been prophesied that, "Sam Grant" would yet gain renown and some of his enthusiastic admirers declared that it had been predicted that he would one day be a great General or even President of the United States. He had on one occasion at least a presentiment of his own future greatness. During his first year at West Point, General Scott

reviewed the cadets. He made, by his magnificent physique and more magnificent uniform, a deep impression on Grant, who, in writing of the circumstance in his *Memoirs*, says, "I believe I did have a presentiment for a moment that I should occupy his place on review." But what boot-black ever looked upon the President of the United States without having a presentiment that he would one day occupy his exalted position. He would be a poor boot-black indeed!

When Ulysses S. Grant graduated from West Point in 1843 he was anxious to enter the cavalry, but was compelled to be content with the Fourth United States Infantry in which corps he took rank as brevet second lieutenant. Then began his real battle with the world. He had so far made many friends and few enemies; some expected much of him; others deemed him, with his lack of self-assertion, and indifference to the show and pomp of his profession a man who would never make his mark. Nearly twenty years were to pass before his strong character was to have the opportunity needful to show what was in him. He was a man who required a great occasion; had the great occasion never come U. S. Grant would doubtless have remained unknown to the nation, as he lacked the sharpness too often required to rise in the ordinary world of business. In the meantime while the occasion was preparing for the man, he was forced to endure much in the *sturm und drang* period of his life.

CHAPTER XII.

PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT (*Continued*).

After graduating from West Point young Grant made a brief sojourn with his friends in Ohio before setting out to join the Fourth Infantry, in which he was a brevet second lieutenant, at Jefferson Barracks, the chief military station in the West. At this time military life in the country was at a low ebb, the entire force being but 7,500 men.

Jefferson Barracks situated near St. Louis was not a place to delight the heart of any ambitious young man, and Lieutenant Grant soon grew very weary of it. He applied to his old professor at West Point for a position as an assistant teacher in mathematics in that institution, and had it not been for the breaking out of the Mexican war he would in all probability have received the appointment, and, instead of leading the greatest armies that any modern general ever led into battle he might have grown to old age, teaching pupils the mysteries of Euclid.

For two years he remained at Jefferson Barracks in a monotonous round of military duties, and but for a friendship which he formed with the family of Colonel Dent these two years would have been unbearable. For Colonel Dent's daughter, a girl of

nineteen, he had more than friendly feelings, and they spent much time together riding about the surrounding country. After two years residence in the West he received leave of absence and paid a visit to his home; but scarcely had he reached it before a letter arrived instructing him to rejoin his regiment which had just been ordered to proceed to the Red River. He at once returned to Missouri to say farewell to the Dents, and took the opportunity to tell Miss Dent of his love for her; and so he departed for his regiment with the understanding that, when his position would permit, Julia Dent would be prepared to join her life with his.

The formal annexation of Texas had made war with Mexico a foregone conclusion, but as hostilities were delayed his regiment camped for nearly a year at Ecore on the Red River. In July, 1845, it was moved to New Orleans and two months later to Corpus Christi in Texas, then held by General Zachary Taylor's "army of occupation." The army that he now joined was as efficient a one as ever took the field. It was well-officered by men who had been trained in West Point, and in the ranks were many who had received their experience in the frontier wars. Many of the officers and men in this army were afterwards to achieve distinction in the Civil war.

This force was in Texas for the purpose of inviting attack, and accordingly moved over to the Rio Grande opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras. Here it threw up entrenchments and as a result war began. The main army was at this time at Point Isabel for supplies. The sound of the firing at the entrenched position reached the soldiers' ears and General Taylor hastened back with his small force

of about 3,000 men. At Palo Alto the Mexicans made a strong resistance and an artillery duel lasted for some hours. In this battle Lieutenant Grant for the first time came under fire. On the following day he took part in the battle of Resaca de la Palma. When the news of these battles reached Washington the government declared war and the "army of occupation" crossed the Rio Grande into Mexican territory, and by this act became the "army of invasion."

Lieutenant Grant was appointed acting quartermaster and as such might have kept out of the fighting, but, from a sense of duty, he shirked none of it. He was in the battle of Molino del Rey and conspicuously distinguished himself at Chapultepec. After this fight Major Robert E. Lee in his official report said, "Lieutenant Grant behaved with distinguished gallantry on the thirteenth and fourteenth." Eighteen years later, General Grant, commander of the forces of the United States, as he remembered these words, must have had sorrow mingled with his joy as he saw General Robert E. Lee, commander of the Confederate forces, sign his liberal terms of surrender at Appomattox Court House. On this same occasion his bravery came to the attention of General Garland who said officially: "I must not omit to call attention to Lieutenant Grant, Fourth Infantry, who acquitted himself most nobly on several occasions, under my own observation."

Perhaps the most courageous act done by Lieutenant Grant during the Mexican war was at the attack on Monterey. The force that he was with was running short of ammunition. More ammunition could only be ob[illegible]ined from a mile in the rear. He volun-

teered to ride back and bring it up. It was a daring undertaking as he would be exposed for a part of the way to a heavy fire. He however depended on his ability as a rider to carry him safely through. The main danger lay at the street crossings, and in order to minimize this danger he adjusted himself on the side of his horse furthest from the enemy, after the manner of the Indian warriors, and galloped past the dangerous points at full speed. So successful was his plan that both horse and man escaped without a scratch. He was through every important battle in the Mexican war except that of Buena Vista, and on several occasions was mentioned for distinguished bravery and coolness of judgment. He was at the capital of Mexico when it fell, but all his experiences did not give him enthusiasm for a soldier's life. He learned much in these battles, however, and as quartermaster realized that fighting was not everything, that a well managed commissariat was quite as important to a successful campaign as skilled leaders and brave soldiers.

It is interesting to note in connection with this war that Lieutenant Grant while playing such an important part in it was utterly out of sympathy with the war. He believed it to be an unrighteous one and looked upon it as one of the steps, and the most important one, leading up to the great Civil war. For the sin of this greed for territory on the part of his country he considered that the United States got her punishment "in the most sanguinary and expensive war of modern times." Towards the close of his life he said with regard to it: "I do not think there ever was a more wicked war waged than that by the United States on Mexico. I thought so at the time when I was a youngster, only I had not

moral courage enough to resign." The two great generals of this war, Taylor, who was afterwards President of the United States, and Scott, who was ambitious to be President, both held very much the same opinion.

After the war was over Captain Grant obtained leave to return to his home in Ohio. He made but a brief visit there and then hastened to the home of the Dents at St. Louis. Young Dent a brother of the betrothed had been with him through the Mexican war, and at Chapultepec Grant had saved his life. Before he had gone to Mexico there had been some little opposition to his union with Julia Dent but his prospects were now brighter and in the eyes of the family he was something of a hero. All opposition was removed and the young couple were married on August 22, 1848.

His regiment was stationed on the Northern frontier and he took his wife with him to Detroit, where, in the spring of 1850, their first son was born. Two monotonous years were spent at this post until late in 1851 when his regiment was ordered to Sackett's Harbour, and in the following year to the Pacific Coast, thence to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, Washington Territory, his family meanwhile remaining in the East. Barrack life was thoroughly distasteful to him; he felt that he was frittering away his existence, and, as he saw no prospect of war, sent in his resignation, which was to take effect on July 31, 1854. At this time he seems to have been utterly without hope for the future, and cynically said to a companion: "Whoever hears of me in ten years, will hear of a well-to-do old Missouri farmer." In ten years the world was ringing with his praises and he was compared

with the Napoleons and Hannibals of history. He left the army without regret and was only remembered among his fellow officers as probably the most expert and daring rider in the service. No one suspected that silent Ulysses S. Grant had in him the power of leading armed hosts.

When he returned to Missouri he had no thought of a brilliant future; his only desire was to make a humble and comfortable home for his family. His father-in-law gave him sixty acres near St. Louis, and on this he began his career as a Missouri farmer. On it he built a log house, literally building it with his own hands, drawing stones for the cellar, cutting and hauling the logs, and splitting the shingles for the roof. He found it a difficult matter to make ends meet, and when finances ran low he would cut a load of wood and drive it into market, trudging beside it through slush or mud or dust to save his horse. He struggled along for four years in this way, but was attacked by fever and ague which forced him to give up farming. In a sense he had not been a success as a farmer, and it seemed unlikely that he would succeed in any business occupation. However, he entered into partnership with a relative, Harry Boggs, in the real estate business and undertook to collect rents, negotiate loans, etc. His family still lived at "Hard Scrabble," as he had christened his farm, and on each Saturday night he walked out to spend Sunday with them. At last he disposed of his farm stock and moved into a small house in St. Louis. But he was too honest for the real estate business and was once more a failure. In 1860 he moved to Galena, Illinois, to take up a position as clerk in a store of his father's. Here he began in a new business and spent his days loading and weigh-

ing leather and keeping books. He was a silent, uncommunicative man, and was known to but few people in the town, and he kept scrupulously apart from politics. He did not like the position of either party but was silently and seriously weighing the great questions of the hour. He needed a strong stimulus to arouse him and the gun fired on Fort Sumter which awoke the nation to its danger and duty stirred the heart of Ulysses S. Grant to its depths.

That gun was to him a call to duty. He had been educated by the government and he felt he would be a traitor to his country if he now refused to take up arms on her behalf. This silent, unknown man who moved through the streets of Galena and went about his business with but few words now began to be looked upon as a possible leader at this crisis. Rumours of his deeds in the Mexican war were spread abroad, and when a meeting was called to consider what the town should do in response to President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men he was appointed chairman. In this position he seemed a strangely shy creature to have been a hero. He had difficulty, as he says, in announcing the object of the meeting, and it was only after considerable prompting that he succeeded. However, before the meeting closed he found his voice and there was something of the Grant that faced Lee before Richmond shown when he said that he was in the fight to stay until the "wicked rebellion was crushed at the cannon's mouth." At this time he recognised that the call sent up was not sufficient, the rebellion could not be put down with such a small force in three months. He knew the Southerners well; he had fought with many of their leaders in Mexico, and he saw before the North a long and fierce conflict.

As a trained soldier he naturally looked for a good appointment, and in the waiting time drilled a company formed at Galena and went with them to Springfield. Here he found everything in confusion, the red tape and the office-seekers disgusted him and he would very probably have returned to his home had not Governor Yates recognised that he needed just such a man in the adjutant-general's office. Grant's experience as quartermaster during the Mexican war had in a way fitted him for this work and he very soon had matters straightened out.

All this time he was hoping for a command and yet fearing his ability to take command of a regiment. Throughout his entire life there was a certain diffidence about him that kept him from pushing himself forward. He was made largely by the circumstances that faced him, and he rarely failed to rise to the occasion. Governor Yates recognised his power, and while Grant was on a visit at the home of his parents in Covington, Kentucky, sent him word that he had been appointed to the command of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers. He accepted the situation and at once proceeded to join his command.

It was a strange regiment, composed of a mixed crowd of gentlemen and toughs. They were utterly without discipline, and were, when he joined them, ragged and insubordinate, little more than an armed mob. They were not unlike the soldiers with whom Lincoln campaigned in the Black Hawk war. General Smith gives the following account of Grant's first experience with them:

"Grant was dressed in citizen's clothes—an old coat worn out at the elbows, and a badly damaged hat. His men, though ragged and barefooted them-

selves, had formed a high estimate of what a colonel should be, and when Grant walked in among them, they began making fun of him. They cried in derision 'what a colonel.'"

However, they very soon found out what a colonel they had to deal with. He was a rigid disciplinarian and permitted no looting or drinking and promptly punished any breach of discipline. He was, however, kindly, and with regard to the young, put forth every effort to reclaim them. "Do everything," he said "to counteract the evil influences of camp life, but do not punish him (referring to a youthful offender) till you find it absolutely necessary, for that brings a sense of degradation." His attitude in the matter of discipline, and indeed in almost every other matter connected with his military career, was very like that of his great contemporary British general Lord Roberts. The commander-in-chief of the British forces has, a number of times, in his *Forty-One Years in India,* expressed himself in very much the same terms with regard to young offenders, and has given instances to prove that forgiveness or light punishment has been most salutary in the army.

The Twenty-First Illinois under his discipline and unceasing drill rapidly became an efficient corps, and his good work with it was recognised by the authorities. For a time he acted as brigadier-general and on August 7 was commissioned to that rank. His rapid promotion was largely due to the influence of Hon. Elihu B. Washburne who, ever since the meeting at Galena to raise volunteers, had had his eye on him.

For a time the brigade over which he had command operated in Missouri He had already sent

to Washington a plan of campaign for the Mississippi. This had come to the attention of Lincoln, but for the time being had been laid aside; but it was in the President's mind, and when Grant came to his attention he had no hesitation in assigning to him the command of the district of Southeast Missouri. He was to operate against Colonel Jeff Thompson and his headquarters were to be at Cairo. Shortly after taking over his command he learned that the rebels had gone out from Columbus with 4,000 troops to occupy Paducah. He at once acted on his own responsibility and with a small force advanced to that place, took possession of it, and the rebel force turned back to Columbus. For several months he remained inactive, drilling his ever increasing army, which at the beginning of November amounted to about 20,000 men. He was at this time anxious to march against Columbus, and believed that if he had proceeded against it early in the autumn it would have fallen without much resistance.

His first engagement, however, was to be at Belmont. Belmont was a fortified position almost under the guns of Columbus. Grant determined to surprise this position and if possible destroy the fort and capture the rebel encampment. He proceeded against it with but 3,000 men and succeeded admirably in his work. The rebels were taken completely by surprise and Belmont was in the hands of the Union troops before the force in Columbus realised what they were attempting. When they did realise it, they came out in strength with the intention of cutting the small army to pieces. However, Grant succeeded in forcing his way through the line that was tightening about him and getting his men safely on board the awaiting transports. He had during

this day been in the thick of the fight, one horse was shot under him and on several occasions his life was in jeopardy. He barely escaped capture and only succeeded in boarding the transport as the gangway was about to be drawn in. The battle of Belmont had been a stiff fight, nearly 500 of the Union soldiers fell, killed or wounded, but the enemy's loss was much greater. Although this fight was a minor one it was of great importance. It came at a time when the Union Army had lost prestige, and it showed that the Union soldiers could fight. It cowed the army in Columbus and paved the way for the victories of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson.

For nearly three months Grant was forced to remain inactive at Cairo, while the Confederate army strengthened itself along the Mississippi, the Tennessee and the Cumberland. At length the time came when it was deemed wise to move against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. At the end of January, Grant was confident that he could seize these forts and sent a telegram saying that if he were permitted he could take and hold Fort Henry. On Febuary 1, permission was granted. He lost no time and on the following day started against it with 17,000 men. It was no easy matter to transport these, and it was not until the 6th that he was prepared to attack the enemy's position. The garrison was by no means a weak one, there were about 2,800 men within the fort with seventeen heavy guns and with strong reinforcements between it and Donelson. There was, however, but little attempt made at resistance. The guns of the fort opened fire on the attacking force, but only for the purpose of giving the troops an opportunity of escaping to Fort Donelson. The commander and his staff and ninety men were

captured, but as the roads were in a very bad condition only a few stragglers from the main force were cut off by Grant's cavalry.

Fort Donelson had still to be taken, and Grant, flushed with success, was confident that he could capture it at once. He informed the department commander that he would take Fort Donelson on the 8th; but as reinforcements which he expected were slow in coming up and as the roads were almost impassable his attack had to be delayed. On the 7th of the month he proceeded to within a mile of the enemy's outworks and carefully studied the ground.

For the chief commanders in Donelson he had but little regard. Floyd, who was in command, had, as Secretary of War for Buchanan, done perhaps more than any other Southerner to cripple the strength of the Union, and for him Grant had no respect. He believed him to be utterly incompetent. His second in command, General Pillow, with whom he had fought in the Mexican war, he held in even less esteem. With these men in command he believed it would be possible to capture the stronghold without waiting for reinforcements.

From the 12th of the month to the 14th his 15,000 men besieged an army of 21,000. There was a little skirmishing each day and on the 13th a determined attempt was made to capture the battery, but this was repulsed with great loss. His men were suffering much, the nights were intensely cold and on the morning of the 14th a number of them were found frozen to death where they slept. He felt that it would be necessary to come to conclusions with the enemy at once, and on this day, as reinforcements were pouring in, kept up a continual rifle fire against the besieged. His gunboats were

brought into action and opened fire upon the fort. But they were forced back and Grant feared a protracted siege. But he had every confidence of being able to win in the end. As the attacks were repulsed, as the gunboats drew off, for the most part disabled, the Confederates believed that they had won a decisive victory and sent a telegram to that effect to Richmond; but as Floyd and Pillow saw the army about them ever increasing a fear seized them that they might be captured, and Floyd particularly had no desire to fall into the hands of the Union soldiers. They determined on the following day to go out in force and cut their way through the encircling army.

Before daylight on the 15th General Grant had gone to the flagship, "St. Louis" to consult with Commodore Foote. In his absence, and before the soldiers of his army were prepared for battle, the rebel force streamed out of Donelson. Fierce fighting took place and when Grant returned to the field of action at about nine in the morning he found his troops in a confused condition. He at once took in the situation, rallied his men and prepared to capture or drive back the attacking force. He learned that they had come out with knapsacks and haversacks; his soldiers thought that this meant that they were prepared for a protracted fight. He thought otherwise. He intuitively grasped the meaning of this circumstance and asked, "Are their haversacks filled?" Being answered in the affirmative, he added, "Then they mean to cut their way out; they have no idea of staying here to fight us." Prompt action was what was needed and to his demoralised troops he cried out as he galloped about the field, "Fill your cartridge boxes, quick, and get into line; the enemy is

trying to escape and he must not be permitted to do so."

The battle under his inspiring presence was renewed with vigour and at nightfall the Union troops were within the enemy's lines of entrenchment. Had daylight lasted an hour longer the fort would have been won. During the night Generals Floyd and Pillow escaped, leaving General Buckner to surrender. On the morrow a white flag was raised over the fort, and General Grant was asked what terms he would give. The prompt and characteristic reply was returned, "no terms other than unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

Buckner was forced to accept this unconditional surrender, but he and his officers and men were kindly treated by the victorious soldier. It was a splendid victory; 65 guns, 17,000 small arms, 3,000 horses and nearly 15,000 prisoners were captured. Although Grant had under him some very excellent officers the victory was almost entirely due to his own presence of mind, his quickness of perception, his courage, and his judgment of the character of Floyd and Pillow. He however realised that without the troops that he had disciplined and drilled he could never have won, and when the battle was over he was able to say to them that "Fort Donelson will hereafter be marked in capitals on the map of our country and the men who fought the battle will live in the memory of a grateful people."

The spirit of the North had been drooping, but this signal victory electrified it, and Grant was the hero of the hour. For his work on this day he was made a major-general and President Lincoln and his Secre-

tary of War recognised that there was a man on the Mississippi who knew how to win victories. Of his work Mr. Stanton wrote: "We may well rejoice at the recent victories, for they teach us that battles are to be won now and by us, in the same and only manner that they were ever won by any people or in any age since the days of Joshua—by boldly pursuing and striking the foe. What under the blessing of Providence I conceive to be the true organisation of victory and military combination to end this war was declared in a few words by General Grant's message to General Buckner, 'I propose to move immediately on your works.'"

It was not, however, to be all roses for General Grant. Immediately after the fall of Donelson General Johnston of the Confederate army abandoned Nashville and Chattanooga, and Grant was for a few days absent from his command visiting the abandoned district. During this time certain irregularities occurred in his command and these were brought to the notice of the authorities. It seems, too, that some of his correspondence with General Halleck went astray; as a result differences arose between the generals which resulted in Grant's being practically placed under arrest even while the nation was ringing with praises of his victory. Halleck seems to have been jealous of Grant and acted towards him in a most hypocritical manner. It was he who reported Grant's alleged misconduct to Washington and while doing it he thus wrote to Grant, who had asked to be relieved from further service under him: "Instead of relieving you, I wish you, as soon as your new army is in the field, to assume immediate command and lead it to new victories."

Although the Confederates had been driven from

Forts Henry and Donelson they had high hopes of retrieving their misfortunes along the Mississippi. General Albert Sidney Johnston and General Beauregard were in command of the troops at Corinth. They had under them, all told, between fifty and eighty thousand men and they hoped to crush Grant and to sweep the Union army out of existence before it could be reinforced by General Buell. Grant's main army was at Pittsburg Landing during the first week of April, and the Southern generals were carefully watching its movements for the right moment to swoop out of their strongholds and crush it. A big battle was imminent, and, not only the opposing armies but the whole country, was expecting one of the great fights of the war. General Grant had his headquarters at Savannah, and from that point kept himself in touch with the different divisions of the army.

On the night of April 4, as he was galloping through the darkness, his horse fell, and before he could extricate himself from the saddle his foot was badly crushed, so much so that it was necessary to cut off his boot. Had he received more serious injuries at this time the history of the war would in all probability have been changed and the South might have triumphed. Two days later on Sunday morning while at breakfast, and still suffering from his injured foot he heard heavy firing from the direction of Pittsburg Landing. A battle was on, and his presence was needed in the conflict. The situation was a grave one and every available man must be hurried to the front. He sent a swift messenger to General Buell, requesting him to hurry his men forward with all possible speed; he despatched a hurried order to General Nelson to the

same effect, and then galloped in the direction of the battle, stopping for a brief moment at Crump's Landing to order General Wallace to follow after him with his division; this done he proceeded at once to the field of battle.

The fight had now been under way for several hours, and the situation that faced the General was far from being a cheering one. The Confederates were the attacking force, and as he approached the field the number of deserters and stragglers he met even at that early hour greatly disheartened him. His men were, however, making a gallant stand against the superior force, and, although on different parts of the field they were giving ground, they were fighting stubbornly to repel the enemy. His inspiring presence did much to save the day ; from division to division of his army he rode cheering both commanders and men and praying that Buell and Wallace and Nelson might soon arrive with reinforcements. Without them he felt that it would be almost impossible to keep his soldiers from retreating until nightfall.

He had under him an army composed for the most part of raw recruits. Shiloh was their first battle ; they had not previously been "shot over," and as the day went on they deserted by hundreds. However, there were veterans enough in his army to hold it together, and when reinforcements did come towards night, although they met what seemed to them to be an army in retreat, they likewise saw that the van of the Union army was maintaining a desperate struggle. When General Buell arrived on the scene he believed that a retreat would be necessary, but General Grant, with his usual bull-dog tenacity, determined to stick to the enemy, and to

become the attacking force on the morrow. He believed that he could regain every foot of ground he had lost in the Sunday fight, and hoped to win a decisive victory.

All day long suffering from the pain of his injury, and weighed down by the seriousness of the situation he had ridden about the field with hard set face. When night came he was to have but little rest. It was a rainy night and about twelve o'clock he tried to get a little sleep while sitting propped against a tree in the rain, but the pain of his foot prevented it, and he rose and went to a log house near by which was being used as a hospital. The sights of death during the day had had but little effect on his iron nerves, but now the surgeons at their ghastly work, the cries and groans of the wounded, drove him forth again into the night and he went back to his tree but was unable to sleep. At daybreak on the following morning he issued orders to his divisional commanders to begin the fight at once and a fierce attack was made on the Confederate lines. The situation was now reversed and the ground that was lost on the previous day was slowly but effectively won and by nightfall the Confederates were forced to retreat within their entrenchments at Corinth. General Beauregard, however, telegraphed to Richmond that on this day he had won a glorious victory.

The fight had been an expensive one to both armies; the Union loss in killed, wounded and missing was over twelve thousand, while the Confederate loss was even greater, although Beauregard reported a loss of only some ten thousand. Shiloh was one of the most stubborn battles of the century; there was on the part of the leaders of both armies an utter disre-

gard for the lives of their men: to win was great thing, and the individual was considered a minor factor. General Grant's description of a part of the field on the second day gives an excellent idea of the terrible slaughter that took place.

"I saw," he says, "an open field, in our possession on the second day, over which the Confederates had made repeated charges the day before, so covered with dead that it would have been possible to walk across the clearing, in any direction, stepping on dead bodies, without a foot touching the ground. On our side, National and Confederate troops were mingled together in about equal proportions; but on the remainder of the field nearly all were Confederates. On one part, which had evidently not been ploughed for several years, probably because the land was poor, bushes had grown up, some to the height of eight or ten feet. There was not one of these left standing unpierced by bullets. The smaller ones were all cut down."

He and several of his generals had had narrow escapes in this battle; a bullet broke his scabbard, and Sherman, his ablest general, was twice slightly wounded and had two horses shot under him. That Shiloh was won was more largely due to the personal valour and judgment of these two men than to anything else; had either fallen the day might have had a different ending.

The two days fighting had thoroughly worn out the men. This, combined with the fact that the heavy rains had left the roads in an almost impassable condition, made it impossible to vigorously pursue the enemy, as a result this victory was not as effective as it otherwise might have been.

Shiloh was in a sense the turning point in Grant's

career as a general. He saw now that this war would not be ended until the armies of the South were crushed. There was little to be gained by capturing towns and forts, or cutting off small detachments of men. Big battles, crushing defeats were what would save his country. After this his policy was to leave nothing undone to destroy the enemy's strength. War is at any time cruel, and a great general may seem to be unnecessarily cruel when he is in reality being most humane. The worst possible thing for his country would be a protracted struggle; his aim now was to finish the war as speedily as possible. In order to weaken the enemy he gave orders to his commanders to destroy everything in the country through which they marched that would supply or support the enemy. His policy was very much the same as that which was adopted by the British in South Africa against the stubborn Boer, and though for the time being it might seem to many to be wantonly cruel it was in the end the kindest policy that could be adopted.

On April 11, four days after the battle of Shiloh, General Halleck assumed command of the Army of the Tennessee and the Army of the Ohio. He seemed still to have had an unreasonable jealousy of Grant, and his treatment of him at this time is incomprehensible. The newspapers, too, treated the victor of Shiloh atrociously, but General Grant went on his way unmoved. No man ever acted more unselfishly than did he during his entire career as a general, and he was able to bear the slanders and calumnies against him, with pain no doubt, but with a consciousness that in the end all would be right.

He believed if an immediate attack were made on Corinth while the Confederate troops were still

suffering from their reverses at Shiloh, that it would almost inevitably fall into the hands of Halleck's army. But for this advice he was unceremoniously snubbed by his commanding officer. It turned out, however, that had his advice been taken Corinth would have fallen and the Confederate army destroyed or captured. It was not until May 30, that Halleck felt in a position to come to conclusions with the force in Corinth. On that day he drew up his army and informed the divisional leaders that an attack might be expected, but it was soon discovered that the enemy had taken advantage of Halleck's inactivity and quietly evacuated Corinth,—and so several months of precious time had been wasted.

Halleck continued so openly to show his disregard for Grant that the latter finding his position unbearable requested leave of absence to visit his family in St. Louis. It was granted and he would have taken it but for his friend Sherman. Sherman begged him to remain, to keep in the struggle with the armies that he had done so much to make,—and he yielded. He was sent to Memphis and in this place proved himself quite as good an administrator as he was a leader of men in the field. This city was a hot-bed of rebellion; the people and the press were both outspoken against the North, and supplies were being continually smuggled out of it into the Confederate lines. He soon stopped the smuggling of supplies to the Southern army, and in a very brief time had Memphis as orderly a city as any in the North. He remained here until July, when Halleck was made, through the exigencies of the time, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. As a result of this change Grant was compelled to shift his headquarters from Memphis to Corinth.

Grant remained in Corinth until the autumn. It was a difficult district to rule, but, despite his greatly weakened force, he ruled it well. Meanwhile things had been going badly with the North. Union reverse after Union reverse had been reported, and it looked as if the Secessionists might yet be successful. While affairs were in this condition General Grant learned that General Van Dorn and General Price were moving against him with a large army. He sent Rosecrans out to meet the enemy, but Rosecrans was beaten back at Iuka with heavy loss, and the Confederates continued their advance on his headquarters. On October 2, the Union troops about Corinth were driven back into the strong entrenchments which Grant had had constructed. The Confederates grew over-confident and believed that they could crush the general who had inflicted such heavy losses upon them during the year, and, on October 3, threw themselves on his position with great valour, but they were beaten back and fled from the field in confusion, hotly pursued. It was a great victory, coming at a time when a victory was much needed, and the authorities at Washington and the nation at large were enthusiastic over the Army of the Mississippi. They had feared that Grant with his comparatively small force would not be able to withstand the large army that was operating against him, but it was evident he was well able to take care of himself. By this victory at Corinth all fear for his army was removed.

Grant had now under him about 50,000 troops. He was placed in command of the department of the Tennessee and at once began to look about him for some decisive work. Vicksburg, the "Western Gibraltar," which was commanded by General John

C. Pemberton, was deemed an impregnable fortress. It would be a great feat of arms to capture it, and at the end of October General Grant had determined on attempting this task and began busily to plan a campaign. On November 2, he began his forward movement on Vicksburg, but it was not until the end of January when he took command of the army operating before Vicksburg in person that any real progress was made. The heaviest task of his career was before him and the nation looked on wondering and expecting.

At first he was almost discouraged, and it seemed as though he would have to turn back unsuccessful; but the Union stock was low, reverses had continued, President Lincoln had been forced to make a further call for volunteers, and to this call there had been but little response. It was found necessary to draft men into the service; to turn back under such circumstances, to leave the "key of the Mississippi" in the hands of the South would only injure the cause of the Union still more. Grant's ability to stick to work once begun was probably the most striking trait in his character, and he was once more to exercise it. It was necessary to get to the rear of Vicksburg, and he planned and planned ways of doing this.

To get his army across the river was the difficult point, and it was not until April that he succeeded. The excellent work done by Admiral David D. Porter with his gunboats in running the gauntlet of the batteries about Vicksburg was the chief factor in bringing him success. But before he could tighten his lines around the doomed city, it was necessary to fight many and hard battles. On April 30, he succeeded in effecting a landing with

20,000 men and during the next month his troops were to pass through the battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill, the Big Black, and Fourteen Mile Creek. In May he was greatly strengthened by the arrival of his trusty fellow-soldier General Sherman. Sherman was opposed to Grant's plan and with a soldier's and friend's frankness told him so, and went farther and said that he must make a statement to be forwarded to Washington. Grant took his statement and quietly put it in his coat pocket believing that he was right and that Sherman would in time be convinced that his plan was the one to reduce Vicksburg. Lincoln, too, was opposed to Grant's plan, but when the fortress fell he had the generosity to write to Grant saying, "you were right, and I was wrong." The siege of Vicksburg was peculiarly Grant's work form beginning to end, it was his master military brain that planned the entire campaign. Of course he was admirably helped in his work by his generals and particularly by Sherman, but the glory of it all was his.

It was evident to the army and the country that Grant was getting a firm hold on Vicksburg. On May 19, he had the city completely invested and hoped in a day or two to force Pemberton to surrender. However, the fall of Vicksburg was not as near at hand as he anticipated. On the 20th and the 22nd assaults were made upon the Rebel lines, but on each occasion the Union forces were beaten back with loss. These attacks were mistakes and Grant was one of the first to recognise this. There was nothing for it now but a regular siege, and so for forty-six days his men remained about the walls of the city watching for an opportunity of taking the Con-

federates off their guard, and slowly but surely sapping their way up to their position.

Towards the end of June Pemberton, who had daily been expecting reinforcements from General Johnston, grew hopeless. He saw that he could not hold out much longer as his supplies had been cut off and his troops were in a state of starvation. On the 3rd of July he raised the white flag and sent out a request to General Grant for terms. Grant would not agree to an armistice, but arranged a meeting with Pemberton to consider unconditional surrender. He was prepared to act generously towards his conquered foe, and at this meeting met Pemberton rather as an old friend than an enemy,—they had, indeed, fought side by side in the Mexican war. The prisoners were paroled and allowed to go to their homes. The victory was the most important yet won in the war. By it the Mississippi was once more opened up, 31,600 prisoners, 172 cannon, and 60,000 muskets were captured. As this great victory occurred simultaneously with Gettysburg the North very naturally was exceedingly jubilant and began to feel as if the war might soon end; but that was still far distant.

After the fall of Vicksburg Grant was anxious to move against Mobile at once, but in this he was as usual thwarted by Halleck. In August he went to New Orleans, and while in that city attending a review he was again injured by the fall of his horse; so badly on this occasion that he was forced to keep to his bed for about a month. This was an anxious time for him as stories of Union reverses came to his ears. In September, Chickamauga was fought and Rosecrans was forced back into Chattanooga. The War Department was in despair, and it looked to Grant

for help. A dispatch was sent to him ordering him to proceed to Cairo and report at once. He was still suffering from his injury when this dispatch reached him, but he made haste to obey it and arrived at Cairo on October 17, when he found another dispatch awaiting him ordering him to prepare for immediate operations in the field.

The 24th of the month found him at Chattanooga. Here he discovered that the army of the Cumberland was practically besieged and on the verge of starvation. His first thought was to place the army on a better basis, to supply it properly, and to see that the lines of communication were kept open. This work done he turned his attention to planning the battle that must perforce of circumstances take place in a few days. The Confederates were strongly entrenched on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. They deemed their position impregnable, and every one in the South from Jefferson Davis to the humblest private in General Bragg's army believed that they could defeat any Union force that could be sent against them. But Grant planned a brilliant battle, and with such men as Sherman and Sheridan to help carry out his plans Chattanooga after one of the most impressive and stubborn fights in the history of the war ended in a Union victory. But it took days of skilful manœuvring before the final blow that won the day was struck. By this victory the strength of the rebellion in the centre was broken. Kentucky and Tennessee were rescued from the rebels, and Georgia and the Southeast were threatended in the rear. The general-in-chief in referring to this victory very truly said that it must be considered one of the most remarkable in history. Grant himself took great pride in it, and though a man of

few words could not but express himself warmly in his congratulations to his men who had helped him win at Chattanooga.

"The general commanding takes this opportunity," he said, "of returning his sincere thanks and congratulations to the brave Armies of the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Tennessee, and their comrades from the Potomac for the recent splendid and decisive successes achieved over the enemy. In a short time you have recovered from him the control of the Tennessee River from Bridgeport to Knoxville. You dislodged him from his great stronghold on Lookout Mountain, drove him from Chattanooga Valley, wrested from his determined grasp the possession of Missionary Ridge, repelled with heavy loss to him his repeated assaults upon Knoxville, forcing him to raise the siege there, driving him at all points, utterly routed and discomfited, beyond the limits of the State. By your noble heroism and determined courage you have most effectually defeated the plans of the enemy for regaining possession of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. You have secured positions from which no rebellious power can drive or dislodge you. For all this the general commanding thanks you collectively and individually. The loyal people of the United States thank and bless you. Their hopes and prayers for your success against this unholy rebellion are with you daily. Their faith in you will not be in vain. Their hopes will not be blasted. Their prayers to Almighty God will be answered. You will yet go to other fields of strife, and, with the invincible bravery and unflinching loyalty to justice and right which have characterised you in the past, you will prove that no enemy can withstand

you, and that no defences, however formidable, can check your onward march."

It will be seen from this that Grant attributed the victory to his gallant soldiers; the nation, on the other hand, attributed it to Grant. Honours were heaped upon him; a gold medal was struck and presented to him "in the name of the people of the United States of America," and very soon other rewards were to be his.

After Chattanooga there was a lull in the war, and in January Grant asked leave to visit his family in St. Louis. His son Fred, although but thirteen years old at the time, had been with him throughout the entire operations about Vicksburg and had been an eyewitness of the great battles leading up to the capture of that strong fortress. His experiences, however had not been all for the best, and after the fall of Vicksburg he was forced to return to his home a very sick boy. At this time his life was despaired of, but fortunately he recovered.

On March 3, General Grant was called to Washington. It was now seen that he was the man Lincoln had been looking for, the man capable of bringing the war to a successful termination. It was decided to revive the rank of lieutenant-general in the army, and to appoint him to this rank. This was done, and on March 9, he was appointed to the command of all the Union armies, and on the following day President Lincoln wrote him the following note: "Under the authority of the Act of Congress to revive the grade of lieutenant-general in the United States Army, approved February 29, 1864, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, U. S. Army is assigned to the command of the armies of the United States."

When Grant accepted the commission he did it with a few brief and characteristic words in the course of which he said, "I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving upon me, and I know if they are met it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favour of the Providence which leads both nations and men." In another man this would have seemed like cant but General Grant was from the beginning to the end of his career, genuinely sincere. He said but little and never approximated at untruth. All through his life he in a way believed himself under the guidance of Providence, and even when the news of Lincoln's assassination came to him he did not rebel; but it was hard to see the hand of Providence in that act.

On the 26th of March, General Grant took up his headquarters at Culpeper Court House a few miles south of the headquarters of the army of the Potomac. He was now for the first time brought into somewhat close contact with Lincoln, and he soon grew to be one of his most ardent admirers, although he was not prepared to trust the kind-hearted President with the plans he intended to pursue.

Grant had already done fine work for the Union; he had by his skill and dogged determination and with the help of Farragut opened the Mississippi from St. Louis to the sea, but he had before him a tremendously greater task than this. For three years the war in the East had made but little progress; great battles had been fought, tens of thousands of men had been slain, vast tracts of country had been laid waste, but the armies of the North and the South were in very much the same position as in the summer of 1861. They were still

resting between Richmond and Washington watching each other's movements.

This war had to be finished, and at once; that was Grant's first thought. In order to do this "concentration was the order of the day." He would bring all his forces to bear on the armies of the South, and by generalship if possible, if not, by mere weight of numbers, crush Generals Lee and Johnson.

So far during the war the cavalry had been ineffective, and he realised what an important factor this arm of the service might be in winding up the war. The first thing to do was to have it properly led, and so he appointed General Phil Sheridan to the command of the cavalry. By the first week in May he was ready for a general movement all along the line. This was a new thing in the war and for the first time Robert E. Lee began to tremble for the safety of Richmond. Grant's reputation had reached him. He remembered the brave young soldier of the Mexican war, and he felt that now the struggle of the campaign had come. He had under him in all a force of probably 75,000 men. When on May 4, Grant began to move his army across the Rapidan, the Union force numbered not fewer than 115,000 men. Grant's army was, it will be seen, vastly larger than Lee's, but Lee had the advantage of position and that counted for much.

As Grant began his forward movement he received a characteristic note from President Lincoln. Lincoln was now trusting him absolutely. He would hinder him in no way and as he was sending forth his war-lord to battle for his government he could not refrain from saying a kindly and helpful word. How the man comes out in the sentence, "if there is anyt' 'ng wanting which is within my power to give,

do not fail to let me know. And now with a brave army and a just cause may God sustain you."

The Union forces very soon came in contact with Lee's army, and after some slight skirmishing the fierce and bloody battles of the Wilderness began. For three days they raged with terrible loss on both sides. The Union army lost 14,000 men in killed, wounded and missing; but they won, and Lee was forced to fall back to a strong position at Spottsylvania. Grant had gained the unbounded admiration of the army that operated with him on the Mississippi and this fight in the Wilderness won for him the worship of the army of the Potomac. His presence on any part of the field created intense enthusiasm and he was received by his soldiers with that same display of feeling that everywhere was bestowed on Napoleon by his followers.

The war was now at a very different stage from what it had been in the initial fights; then raw recruits filled the ranks and the struggles for a great part were struggles between armed mobs. Now the two great armies were composed for the most part of veterans to whom war was a familiar thing and sights of suffering and death every-day occurrences. The fighting was therefore desperate, and the battles in the Wilderness were but the beginning of the bloodiest campaign in modern history. For some days skirmishing went on, the contending forces playing, like boxers, for an opening. This skirmishing continued for several days and culminated in the great battle of Spottsylvania on the 12th of May when 4,000 prisoners and 30 cannon were captured by the Union troops. Still the fighting did not cease, and by the 21st of the

month another 14,000 men were lost to the Union army.

During this part of the campaign Grant was admirably supported by his generals. Meade and Sheridan and the rest were to him what Napoleon's marshals were to Napoleon, excepting that in the latter case an element of selfishness was mingled with their support. This severe fighting created a good deal of alarm, for though victories were gained the losses were terrific, but amidst it all Grant was calm; he had now a grip on Lee and he would not let go until he had either annihilated his force or compelled him to surrender.

During the severe fighting of the Richmond campaign, and while he was sustaining his heaviest losses Grant sent a dispatch to Washington saying, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The Shenandoah valley was a great source of supply for the Confederates and nothing shows the character of Grant better than his determination with regard to that district. He would destroy all crops in it; he gave orders to have it laid waste "so that crows flying over it for the balance of this season will have to carry their provender with them." It is such heroic determination as this that places Grant in the same category with Napoleon and Wellington, with Cæsar and Hannibal.

On the 3rd of June Grant ordered an assault to be made on Lee's entrenched position at Cold Harbour. The attacking force was repulsed with great loss and after this Grant lost some of his fondness for frontal attacks. He expressed regret for this assault at Cold Harbour just as he expressed regret for the assaults at Vicksburg in the previous year, but these

were the only serious blunders of his military career. During the month his troops had been reinforced by 40,000 men, but he was no stronger than at the beginning, for an equal number had fallen in battle or had been made prisoners. Lee, too, had had large reinforcements, principally old men and boys, but his losses were so great that he was somewhat weaker than at the beginning of this campaign.

Grant next turned his attention to Petersburg and Richmond. He saw that it was necessary to win Petersburg, and with the fall of that place he knew that Richmond would be evacuated. The outer line of the entrenchments before Petersburg were taken, but Grant found himself held in check by Lee's army, and so he settled down to a regular siege of the place.

Meanwhile Washington was in danger. Early threatened the city and but for Grant's foresight would have entered it. The force he sent to protect Washington arrived barely in time to avert disaster from the Capital. Brisk fighting went on during the summer, but it was not until late in the year that the Union had decided successes. On September 2, Atlanta was entered by Sherman; on September 19, Early was routed by Sheridan in battle at Winchester, and on October 19, Sheridan's famous ride changed the defeat of Cedar Creek into a celebrated victory.

Meanwhile the struggle went on about Petersburg. On June 17, Beauregard had fallen back to the second line of entrenchments, and on the 30th of July a breach was made in the defences and the Union troops might then have entered the place, but the golden opportunity was lost. Months were now to pass before anything decisive was done.

In November, Lincoln was re-elected, and in De-

cember Savannah fell into the hands of Sherman, but it was not until March that Grant felt that both Petersburg and Richmond would soon be his. In that month the siege was vigorously prosecuted and on the 2nd of April an attack was made on Petersburg that showed Lee how impossible it would be to hold out longer. If he would save his army he must evacuate both places at once. During that night the troops stole out of Richmond and Petersburg, and as Grant on the morning of the Third entered the latter place he saw the roads blocked with the flying host. It has frequently been said that he was utterly callous to human life. This is far from being true. He had not saved his men and he had not saved the enemy, but he had been cruel only to be kind. The policy that he had so far adopted had been with the hope of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion and by this means of saving many lives and much property. The heart of the man is excellently shown in his thoughts as he looked upon Lee's retreating army. "At all events," he afterward wrote, "I had not the heart to turn the artillery upon such a mass of defeated and fleeing men, and I hoped to capture them soon."

He saw the end in sight and he was anxious that it should come as speedily as possible, and so on April 7, while his troops were conducting a vigorous pursuit of Lee he sent the Southern general the following message:

"The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that por-

tion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia."

Lee put on a bold front and replied that he could not see matters in the light in which Grant saw them, but in his heart he knew the end had come. No reinforcements were coming to his aid, deserters were leaving him every day, and his army was almost starving. He continued his flight and on the 9th reached Appomattox Court House, but Sheridan, Ord, and Griffin had reached that place simultaneously, and after a brief show of resistance, Lee gave up the struggle. He and his army were treated generously by Grant,—too generously many thought, but that the North and the South in the few years that have passed since the war have become reconciled is due very largely to the noble treatment Grant meted out to his enemies. Had he treated Robert E. Lee harshly, the irreconcilables in the South might have remained in the field for years, and kept up a guerrilla warfare such as the Boers maintained against Great Britain and her vast armies in South Africa.

The memorable meeting between General Lee and General Grant at Appomattox is one of the most striking in history. They met as friends, it would seem, rather than as enemies, and Grant at this moment appeared to have been more deeply impressed by the character of Lee in adversity than by the negotiations. His description of Lee in his *Memoirs* is more than a picture of Lee on this great occasion, it is a revelation of the character of Grant.

"What General Lee's feelings were," he wrote, "I do not know. As he was a man of much dignity, with an impassible face, it was impossible to say whether he felt inwardly glad that the end had finally come or felt sad over the result, and was too manly

to show it. Whatever his feelings, they were entirely concealed from my observation; but my own feelings, which had been quite jubilant on the receipt of his letter, were sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause, though that cause, I believe, one of the worst for which a people ever fought, and one for which there was the least excuse. I do not question, however, the sincerity of the great mass of those who were opposed to us."

That night there was rejoicing in the Union lines and salutes were fired in honour of the surrender: but Grant was grave; his spirit was burdened with what he had been through, and as he heard those salutes he remembered the noble soldier who had just capitulated, just given up the struggle after four years of brave and skilful warfare. This rejoicing could not but hurt him deeply and Grant was not the man to cause unnecessary pain to a fallen foe, especially to one as refined and chivalric as Lee, and so he ordered the Union soldiers to cease firing the salutes. This was no time for unnecessary self laudation,—this was the moment to begin reconstruction, to draw Secessionists into the Union by love, and so he said: "The war is over; the rebels are again our countrymen, and the best sign of rejoicing after the victory will be to abstain from all demonstration in the field."

It was Grant's attitude to the defeated South that had more than anything else to do with peaceful reconstruction. Never in the history of the world was a civil war wound up with so little bloodshed; and never in the history of the world had there been such a gigantic civil war, and that it was so quietly

settled was due largely to Grant who endeavoured to carry out with the South the policy of Lincoln, with which he so strongly sympathised.

This last year of the war had been a most expensive one to the Union Army. General Grant had certainly not husbanded the lives of his men. Since crossing the Rapidan 12,663 men had been killed, 49,559 wounded and 20,498 missing, in all 82,720.

It would naturally be expected that Grant would have had a strong desire to visit the Southern capital, Richmond. A triumphal march into that city would certainly have delighted any soldier fond of display: but Grant was not fond of display. The one thing he had desired from the beginning of the war was to finish it as quickly and as effectually as possible. There could be nothing gained by a visit to Richmond, and so after the surrender of Lee at Appomattox Court House he hastened to Washington to bring the war to a conclusion. He had said to his army on the occasion of Lee's surrender "the war is over," but there was still much work to be done, although no more heavy fighting was to be expected.

He had scarcely arrived in Washington before the assassination of Lincoln took place. Grant looked upon this as a great calamity, particularly for the South. He believed that had Lincoln lived he would have proved the best friend the South ever had and that under him reconstruction would have gone on more quickly and quietly than it did under Johnson and himself. However, he did much to carry out the wishes of Lincoln with regard to the South, and his generous treatment of Lee was perfectly in harmony with Lincoln's policy.

After the death of Lincoln the Confederate forces in the field rapidly surrendered. Already, on April

11, Mobile had fallen, and on the 18th Johnston's army surrendered to Sherman. The terms were, however, considered too liberal and Sherman was much abused by the President, the Secretary of War, and by the public in the North, but Grant stood by him and acted with great delicacy in straightening out matters, and finally on the 26th, Johnston surrendered on the same terms on which Lee surrendered to Grant. In no action in his life did Grant appear to better effect than in the way in which he dealt with his tried friend Sherman in the matter of Johnston's surrender. By the end of April there was not a Confederate force of any importance left in the field. Grant meanwhile was hard at work in Washington getting ready for disbanding the armies, and stopping the purchase of supplies. His work in the months immediately after the war saved his country many millions of dollars.

The war was over and it was decided as the final act of the war to have a grand review of the troops in Washington. For two days the battle-scarred armies marched past the general who had led them on so many victorious battle-fields. On May 24, the Army of the Potomac, which had so long endured so much without making material progress but which had finally run the great general of the South to earth, marched in triumph through the streets of the Capital; and on the following day the Army of the West, led by Sherman, fully restored to popular favour, marched through the crowded streets. The four years of fighting had made these men veterans. The army that lined past General Grant on these momentous days was the greatest army the world has ever seen,—greatest because as brave as any in the

world and at the same time possessed of intelligence without a parallel.

General Grant was ever a man of few words but he could not allow his veterans to go to their homes without unburdening his heart to them. His farewell address to his soldiers at the close of the Civil war is one of the most important of his life and not unworthy to be studied beside Lincoln's Gettysburg speech.

"Soldiers of the Armies of the United States:

"By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws, and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery—the cause and pretext of the rebellion—and opened the way to the rightful authority to restore order and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges, and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dim the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defence of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call you left your homes and families, and volunteered in its defence. Victory has crowned your valour, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honours a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen, and posterity, the blessings of free in-

stitutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their lives. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honours their memories, and will ever cherish and support the stricken families."

CHAPTER XIII.

PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT (*Concluded*).

Until the close of the Civil war General Grant had of necessity to concentrate his mind upon the great struggle in which he was playing a leading part. So far he had been altogether a soldier, but now he was forced to take an interest in questions of statesmanship.

During the progress of the war, the European Powers in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine had interfered in Mexican affairs. The situation had been gravely considered by Lincoln and his cabinet, but, with their hands tied by the struggle at home, it would have been unwise to become embroiled with the Powers who were one and all eager to see the Republic come to grief. The war over, however, the United States was prepared to deal promptly and decidedly with the Mexican matter. France was alone in the field at this time supporting Maximilian who had been placed on the throne by her armies. General Grant sent Sheridan with a strong force to the Rio Grande river to observe the movements of the French. As a result of this step the French army was withdrawn from Mexico and Maximilian was ultimately dethroned and executed.

It would have been a serious matter for any Power

to have declared war against the United States at this stage of her history. At this time, despite the criticism of some of the Europeans that her army was nothing but an armed mob, she had the largest and best trained force in the world. Modern warfare has proved that for the making of a fighting force experience in the field is needed, and excepting for the work done by France and England in the Crimean war, and by England in the Indian Mutiny she alone had a large army of troops disciplined on the bloodiest battle-fields of the century.

Shortly after the surrender of General Lee a United States court in Virginia indicted Lee and others, who took part as leaders in the rebellion, of treason, and in many quarters there was a desire that somewhat severe punishment should be meted out to these men. President Johnson, through personal animosity, at this time at any rate, strongly favoured harsh treatment for the Confederate leaders. Grant was opposed to such a course and he fearlessly spoke his opposition. He was for peace, a permanent and abiding peace with the South, and he believed that harshness would be the means of increasing a spirit of animosity in the South against the North that would greatly protract the struggle between the two great sections of his country. He came to Lee's rescue and vigorously maintained that these men could not be tried for treason unless they broke their parole. Johnson was hard to move, but Grant threatened to resign unless his wishes in the matter were agreed with; and the nation on the whole supported him. His letter to President Johnson at this time shows his attitude.

"In my opinion," he wrote, "the officers and men paroled at Appomattox Court House, and since, upon

the same terms given to Lee, cannot be tried for treason so long as they observe the terms of their parole. This is my understanding. Good faith, as well as true policy, dictates that we should observe the conditions of that convention. Bad faith on the part of the government, or a construction of that convention subjecting the officers to trial for treason, would produce a feeling of insecurity in the minds of all the paroled officers and men. If so disposed, they might even regard such an infraction of terms by the government as an entire release from all obligations on their part."

When the war was definitely concluded and the armies for the most part disbanded, Grant who was now the hero of his country visited many parts of the Union and was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm. Gifts of houses and money were bestowed upon him and the Universities honoured him with their degrees. Nothing pleased him more, however, than the welcome he received from the citizens of his adopted town, Galena. Four years before he had left it an obscure soldier, untried as an army leader, no one expecting much from the quiet unassuming clerk who had walked their streets. Now he was returning the hero of the greatest civil war in the world's history, the leader of the largest armies of modern times, and generally recognised as the peer of Wellington and Napoleon. Strange romance it all seemed, but in the shouting crowds that welcomed him were many scarred and battered soldiers who knew the reality of it all, and many widows and mothers whose sons had fallen while following this man in the battle-hour, and to them, too, it was all a stern reality; but at this moment they forgot their sorrow and rejoiced that they had given

of their best to help him save his country and put down the curse of slavery.

The President was anxious to begin reconstruction at once and sent General Grant to the South on a tour of inspection. He visited Raleigh, Charleston, Savannah, and Augusta and paid some attention to the Freedmen's Bureau. He had been included in the same assassination plot that ended the life of Lincoln and almost ended the life of Seward, but he had now no fear of assassination in the South. While on his visit he mingled freely with all classes and was in a way welcomed by all. On his return he made a report which included the following optimistic sentences:

"I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have hitherto divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections—slavery and States rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal—arms—that man can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met, that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but, now that the smoke of battle has cleared away, and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving the li[illegible] benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in the council."

He was not able to give the attention he desired to the Freedmen's Bureau, but with regard to it, too, he made wise recommendations to the government.

He had already been highly honoured but he was to receive still further honours. The House, to show its appreciation of the work he had done, revived the

grade of "General of the Army of the United States." This grade had never been held by any American except Washington and the terms of the bill provided that when the office became vacant "this act shall thereupon expire and remain no longer in force." The Senate by an almost unanimous vote concurred with the action of the House, and Grant became General while his friend Sherman was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-General.

At the beginning of President Johnson's term General Grant had shown a great deal of independence, particularly in regard to the treatment which the President seemed desirous of meting out to the rebel leaders. Johnson saw that he had a force to deal with that might in time cause him considerable trouble and so he made an effort to get Grant out of the way by honouring him with a special mission to Mexico. General Grant, however, refused to go on this mission, and it was not in the President's power to compel him to obey. A further effort was made to send him to the West, but this, too, was abandoned. It was well for the South that it was, for Grant by his presence at Washington did much to control affairs in the nation's best interests.

As has already been pointed out Johnson and his cabinet and Congress did not get on well together. Secretary Stanton refused to resign at Johnson's request and Johnson suspended him and appointed General Grant Secretary *ad interim*. It was believed by many that General Grant was a mere tool in the hands of the President, but he had accepted this position having but little faith in the President and solely because he had an ardent desire "to clean out the office, cut down expenses, and reform abuses." In accepting the position he acted with his usual openness

and wrote to Stanton in the following words: "In notifying you of my acceptance, I cannot let the opportunity pass without expressing to you my appreciation of the zeal, patriotism, firmness, and ability with which you have ever discharged the duties of Secretary of War."

That Stanton thoroughly understood Grant's position is evidenced from his reply: "Under a sense of public duty, I am compelled to deny the President's right under the Constitution and laws of the United States, to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, or authorise any person to enter upon the discharge of that office or to require me to transfer to him or any other persons the records, books, papers and other property in my official custody and charge as Secretary of War.

"But inasmuch as the President has assumed to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, and you have notified me of your acceptance of the appointment of Secretary of War *ad interim*, I have no alternative but to submit under protest to the superior force of the President.

"You will please accept my acknowledgment of the kind terms in which you have notified me of your acceptance of the President's appointment, and my cordial reciprocation of the sentiments expressed."

That General Grant had lost none of his independence of character by his appointment was soon made evident to the nation. Five days after suspending Stanton, Andrew Johnson issued orders dismissing Sheridan from his command in the South-West. Grant believed that Sheridan was proving himself an able administrator and did not hesitate to point this out to the President. He had been asked to give

suggestions with regard to the matter and the suggestions must have somewhat startled Johnson.

"I am pleased," Grant wrote, "to avail myself of this invitation to urge, earnestly urge, urge in the name of a patriotic people who have sacrificed hundreds of thousands of loyal lives and thousands of millions of treasure to preserve the union and integrity of this country, that this order be not insisted on. It is unmistakably the expressed wish of the country that General Sheridan should not be removed from his present command. This is a republic where the will of the people is the law of the land. I beg that their voice may be heard.

"General Sheridan has performed his civil duties faithfully and intelligently. His removal will only be regarded as an effort to defeat the laws of Congress. It will be interpreted by the unreconstructed element in the South, those who did all they could to break up this government by arms, and now wish to be the only element consulted as to the method of restoring order, as a triumph. It will embolden them to renewed opposition to the will of the loyal masses, believing that they have the Executive with them."

The people were at this time with Congress, and Grant's attitude on the Sheridan matter, and his dignified protest showed the country that he too was with their representatives. He grew more and more in favour with the nation and he was very soon spoken about as the nominee of the Republican party at the next Presidential election. He had proved himself a great soldier, and his firmness at this time and his splendid administration of the War Department made his fellow-countrymen believe that he would prove a success in the White House.

When the Senate refused to sustain President Johnson's suspension of Secretary Stanton, Grant promptly handed over his office to the suspended Secretary. This action caused bitter words to pass between the President and the General but the nation thoroughly approved of Grant's course in standing by Congress at this crisis and he grew greatly in popular favour. He had done the duties devolving on him while in charge of the War Department with greater wisdom, knowledge and thoroughness than had Stanton, and the President despite his annoyance with him, unhesitatingly acknowledged it, saying that "salutary reforms have been introduced by the Secretary *ad interim*, and great reduction in expenses have been effected under his administration of the War Department, to the saving of millions to the Treasury."

General Grant's popularity as the saver of the Union, his excellent work in the difficult years immediately following the assassination of President Lincoln, his dignified conduct in the difficult situation in which he found himself placed after the war, being forced to take sides either with his President or with Congress, the lack of available leaders among the more experienced politicians all made it evident that Grant would be the next nominee for the Presidency; and when the Republican Convention met in Chicago in May, 1868, he received the unanimous vote of the 650 delegates who were present. After having reflected carefully over the honour done him he accepted the nomination in the following words:

"In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention of the 21st of May instant, it seems proper that some statement

of views beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination should be expressed.

"The proceedings of the Convention were marked with wisdom, moderation, and patriotism, and I believe expressed the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained the country through its recent trials. I endorse the resolution.

"If elected to the office of President of the United States, it will be my endeavour to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere. In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing and the purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I have always respected that will, and always shall.

"Peace and universal prosperity—its sequence—with economy of administration will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace."

The last four words of this note really contain the whole of Grant's statesmanship. A politician in the ordinary sense of the word he never was, but in all things he desired that his country should have peace within her borders and without. This, indeed, was his aim while he led the great armies of the North. After every battle he fought his thought was how much nearer are we to peace. But it requires more than this to make a successful ruler; and while Grant had fine administrative qualities, had due respect for the rights of other nations, and great integ-

rity, he lacked the power of seeing through men, a power which only comes by long experience.

When the elections took place in November, Grant and Colfax carried 26 States with 214 electoral votes, while Seymour and Blair, the Democratic nominees, had but 8 States with 80 electoral votes.

While Grant was not a great statesman, some very important legislation was successfully passed with his approval during his first term. One of the first matters that came before his attention was the annexation of Santo Domingo. In the summer of 1869, representatives from Santo Domingo approached the President with the hope that he would see fit to advise the annexation of their country to the United States. After very carefully considering the matter he laid it before Congress. Legislation was delayed on it for several years and then his proposals were rejected by the Senate. The country was not yet prepared to begin its imperial career. The reasons why Grant favoured this annexation are interesting. He saw that in the end the United States might have to contend with a great colour difficulty. He hoped that Santo Domingo would attract the coloured people from the South, and that they might there have an independent State or States governed by their own race; besides, the island was close to the United States, it was very fertile and, according to him, "capable of supporting 15,000,000 of people."

When the increase of the coloured population in the South is considered, and the suggestions with regard to the removal of at least a portion of the emancipated race out of the country is weighed, it will be evident that Grant's proposal had in it at least an element of wisdom.

During the first administration reconstruction

went on, and although there were conflicts between the whites and the blacks in the South matters were gradually settling down to their old basis, so much so, that in May, 1872, Congress felt that the time was ripe for passing an amnesty bill which restored the civil rights to all but about 350 persons in the South. The disfranchised were men who had held prominent positions under the Confederate government. One of the most important acts which received the earnest support of Grant was the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution which was declared in force on March 30, 1870. By this "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." Grant took greater pride in this piece of legislation than in anything else that occurred during his term of office.

The Civil war still left behind it some clearing up of an international character. Britain had shown sympathy with the South, at any rate at the commencement of the war, and the "Alabama Claims" had not yet been settled. But in 1871 this and other matters were dealt with by the Treaty of Washington. By this Treaty the Joint High Commission provided for the settlement of the "Alabama Claims" by a board of Arbitration to be held at Geneva, Switzerland. The San Juan boundary dispute was left to the decision of the Emperor of Germany. Besides this several minor matters relating to the fisheries of Canada and the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was dealt with. This Treaty of Washington marks a decided step in advance in international affairs. Arbitration was appealed to instead of arms, indeed so many ques-

tions were settled by arbitration during Grant's terms of office that he might almost be called the father of the arbitration movement between nations. The San Juan question was settled in favour of the United States and the Board of Arbitration left to decide the Alabama Claims gave damages to the United States to the extent of $15,500,000. This claim was promptly paid by Great Britain.

The civil service, as might have been expected at a time when the national expenditures were so large, was very corrupt, and President Grant strongly favoured civil service reform. He was, however, too honest a man to recognise the corruption in the officials under him, and although he ever tried to have honesty and purity in every department of the government, corruption went on and increased during his term as President. He was, indeed, to a great extent the dupe of capitalists and professional politicians, and his name would have gone down to the ages with greater lustre had he never been President.

However, there was no blot upon his own name, and his endeavour ever was to bring about peace in all things, to make the world the better for his having lived in it. His policy in dealing with nations was to deal with them "as equitable law requires individuals to deal with each other." As a result of his attitude war within the country and without became a very remote thing. He even did much to check Indian warfare by treating the original inhabitants of this country with greater humanity, than had been shown to them in the past. His whole desire with regard to them was to so legislate that they might become truly civilised and Christianised inhabitants of this country.

His reconstruction policy and the weaknesses which developed themselves in the conduct of different departments of the government made him many bitter enemies, and when the time came round for again making nominations for President he found that a part of the Republican party had become alienated. Among these men were such brilliant minds as Charles Sumner and Horace Greeley, but the Republican Convention which met in Philadelphia, June 5, 1872, approved of his reconstruction policy, and of his general management of affairs and renominated him by acclamation. The Liberal Republican party which met in Cincinnati on May 1, 1872, had nominated an independent ticket with Horace Greeley for President, and this nomination was endorsed by the Democratic Convention which met in Baltimore on June 9.

President Grant accepted re-nomination in the following terms:

"I accept the nomination, and through you return my heartfelt thanks to your constituents for this mark of their confidence and support. If elected in November, and protected by a kind Providence, in health and strength to perform the duties of the high trust conferred, I promise the same zeal and devotion to the good of the whole people for the future of my official life as shown in the past. Past experience may guide me in avoiding mistakes inevitable with novices in all professions and in all occupations.

"When relieved from the responsibilities of my present trust by the election of a successor, whether it be at the end of this term or the next, I hope to leave to him, as Executive, a country at peace within its own borders, at peace with outside nations, with

a credit at home and abroad, and without embarrassing questions to threaten its future prosperity. With the expression of a desire to see a speedy healing of all bitterness of feeling between sections, parties or races of citizens, and the time when the title of citizen carries with it all the protection and privilege to the humblest that it does to the most exalted, I subscribe myself, etc."

It will be noted that in this letter of acceptance he once more reiterates his desire for peace. The greatest warrior of modern times seems to have had but one idea, peace, and it is with the thought of peace in his mind that he closes his *Memoirs* ten years later.

The Presidential campaign of 1872 was a bitter one. There was, as has been pointed out, a split in the Republican party. Many of the members of that party were disgusted with the corruption which was practised by many of the officials; others were opposed to the reconstruction policy of the government, and some were alienated because the government was not as corrupt as they would like it to be. These estranged friends of the party vilified and abused the President, but as he had experienced such things during the Civil war it only made him the more determined to win, and win he did, with a popular vote of 3,597,070 to Greeley's 2,834,079. He carried 31 States, while his opponent had but six. The election was to him as great a victory as Donelson, Shiloh or Appomattox. That he had felt the abuse heaped upon him and the unjust accusations made against him during the campaign was evident from his inaugural address, but while referring to this abuse he could at the same time say, "I feel that I can disregard it, in view of your ver-

dict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication."

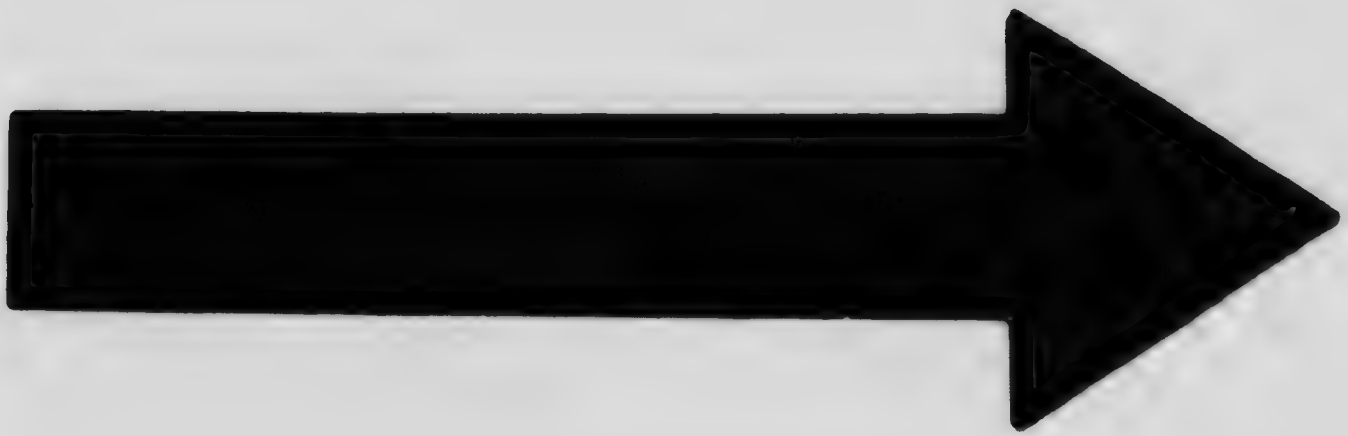
There is no doubt that, so far as holding the corrupt professional politician in check, he had been a weak President. But the reconstruction policy of the government was the great issue and the country on the whole was with the government and did not feel like "swapping horses while crossing the stream." Besides Grant was still the hero of his country, his great victories were still fresh in the memory of all. His chief opponents, on the other hand, were renegades from their party, and this had gone far to defeat them.

During his first term the following cabinet was nominated by President Grant: Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, Secretary of State; Alexander T. Stewart of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Jacob D. Cox of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; Adolph E. Borie of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; John M. Schofield of Illinois, Secretary of War; John A. J. Creswell of Maryland, Postmaster-General; E. Rockwood Hoar of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. As Mr. Stewart was a merchant, he was disqualified under the law from accepting a cabinet position, and George S. Boutwell was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. A number of changes took place in the cabinet; Mr. Washburne, who was appointed Minister to France, was succeeded by Hamilton Fish of New York; Mr. Schofield retired and Grant's old friend John A. Rawlins became Secretary of War, and when he died in September of the same year, William W. Belknap was appointed to the office; in June Mr. Borie resigned and George M. Robeson became Secretary of the Navy. In July, 1870, Mr. Hoar resigned and A. T. Akerman of Georgia became Attorney-General; he, too, resigned in 1871 and his

office was filled by George H. Williams. In 1870 Mr. Cox resigned and was succeeded by Columbus Delano of Ohio. After General Grant's inauguration in 1873 he made but one change in his cabinet, nominating William M. Richardson of Massachusetts, for Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Mr. Boutwell. During his second term, too, there were several important cabinet changes. Mr. Richardson was succeeded by Mr. Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, and Lot M. Morrill of Maine. Other changes which occurred during the second term were as follows: Mr. Creswell was succeeded as Postmaster-General by Marshall Jewell of Connecticut and he in turn by James M. Tyner of Indiana; Secretary of War Belknap was succeeded by J. Donald Cameron; Secretary of the Interior Delano was succeeded by Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, and Attorney-General Williams was succeeded in turn, by Edwards Pierrepont of New York, and Alphonso Taft of Ohio.

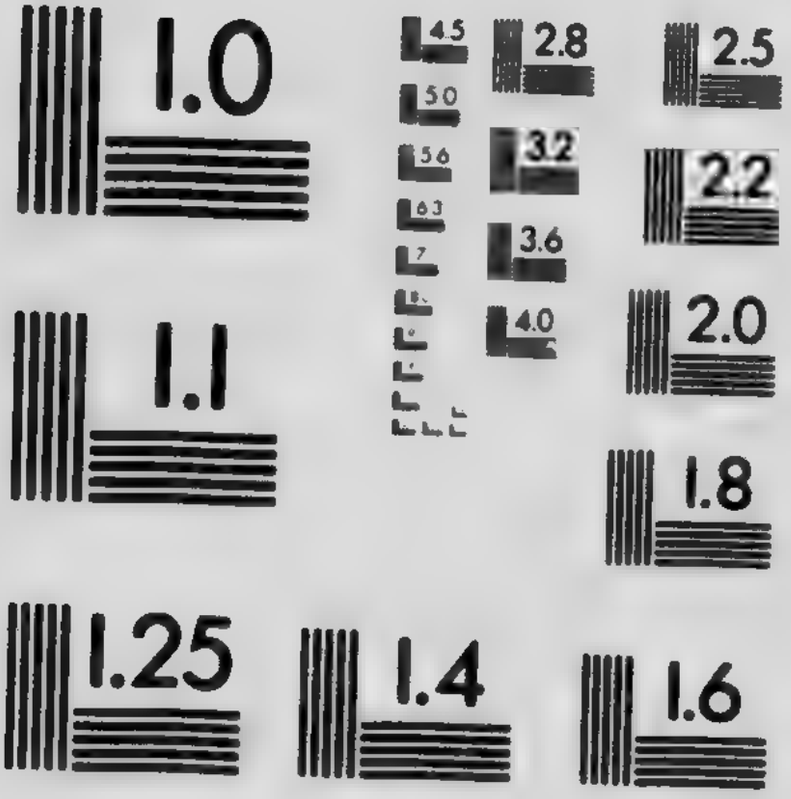
President Grant began his second term in a spirit of broad statesmanship. In his inaugural address he touched at some length on his wish to have Santo Domingo annexed to the United States and in doing so said: "I say, however, that I do not share in the apprehensions held by many as to the danger of the government becoming weakened and destroyed by reason of its extension, but rather believe that our great Ruler is preparing the world in His own good time to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will no longer be required."

It has long been the hope of the civilised world that in time the nations will become one great brotherhood, and it has been the belief of the Anglo-Sax-



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

ons that English ideas and the English language will dominate the world. That state of affairs is still very far from being realised, but at the beginning of the twentieth century it is nearer than ever before, and that it is so, is very largely due to American push and enterprise. The career of imperialism on which the United States has just entered in the West Indies and in the islands of the Pacific is the most important step taken so far towards a realisation of this idea. It would almost seem as if President Grant was intuitively forecasting the importance of his country as a civiliser of humanity when he uttered the words quoted from his second inaugural address.

During the second term the President's foreign policy was just, and worthy of any statesman. In his dealings with China and Japan he instructed his ministers to deal with these weaker Powers as "we would wish a strong nation to deal with us if we were weak." Difficulties arose with Spain due to the harsh treatment that country was meting out to the Cubans. Owing to the seizing of the "Virginius" the two countries were on the verge of war. A war at that time with Spain would have been almost as popular as was the recent Spanish-American war, but Grant knew too well the horrors of war, and very wisely averted it.

Reconstruction difficulties still had to be dealt with. In Louisiana, in particular, affairs were in a very much disturbed condition, but the President handled the situation with wonderful wisdom, endeavouring "to avoid any appearance of undue interference in State affairs." In 1874 Congress passed a bill intended to increase the paper currency of the country, but Grant was for sound money and vetoed

this "Inflation Bill," giving with great clearness his reasons for his action. It was during his second term, too, that the famous "Whiskey Ring" was detected in its frauds against the revenue. Many of those concerned were men of position who had friends at court, but President Grant would "have no guilty man escape," and although every possible power was brought to bear to influence him he remained unmoved and a number of the offenders were sent to the penitentiary. Whenever he saw fraud he punished it, but so honest was he, that, throughout his entire presidential career, it was difficult to make him believe that trusted men could be dishonest. While he showed many traits of statesmanship, on the whole he was a weak president, and the corruption that gathered head during his terms of office did much to pave the way for the downfall of the Republican party in 1884.

In his farewell message he uttered some words on education which show the general character of his statesmanship. He maintained "that the States should be obliged to furnish a good common school education to all, and that the attendance of children therein should be compulsory, that no sectarian creeds nor tenets should be taught in any school; that after the year 1890 no person unable to read and write should be allowed to vote; that Church and State should be declared forever separate and distinct, while the utmost freedom of worship should be secured to all."

This was not the first time he had dealt with this matter. In 1875 at a reunion of the Army of the Tennessee he uttered the same sentiments. "Encourage free schools," he said, "and resolve that not one dollar of money appropriated to

their support, no matter how raised, shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian school. Resolve that the State or nation, or both combined, shall furnish to every child growing up in the land the means of acquiring a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistic tenets."

He was urged by many to stand for a third term, but he had had enough of the Presidential office, and so retired into private life after the inauguration of his successor Rutherford B. Hayes.

It was impossible, however, for him to rest idle, and, on May 17, he began his celebrated pilgrimage around the world. He reached Queenstown, and was enthusiastically received by the Irish people, but was unable to sojourn among them at that time. He proceeded to Liverpool where he was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm by all classes. In London he was given the freedom of the city, was welcomed by the Queen and the Prince of Wales, and visited Her Majesty at Windsor Castle. On the continent Kings, Emperors, Princes, and Presidents did him honour. He sailed to the East and was most enthusiastically received in Egypt, the Holy Land, and in India. In Burma, the Malay Peninsula, in Siam, in Cochin China, and at Hong Kong he was met with enthusiasm. He visited the interior of China and was honoured by the Celestials as no foreigner had ever before been honoured. In Japan the celebration in his honour marked an epoch in Japanese history, but the greatest of all the celebrations during this trip and the one which delighted him most was the enthusiastic welcome he received from the people of the West in San Francisco on his return to his own country. In the following year he

visited Cuba and Mexico and was everywhere received with pageant and display. In Mexico in particular he had a warm welcome from the people who looked upon him as their deliverer from the French invader. All this makes strange reading. Seventeen years before the man who was thus honoured had been an unsuccessful farmer building his own log house, a failure in the real estate business, and finally a clerk in a leather store. Even the history of the great Napoleon does not present a more marvellous romance.

After seeing all the earth and the fullness thereof, and being seen, it is said, by more eyes than ever looked upon any other human being, he returned to his home in Galena.

A new election was approaching and the Republican party had few available candidates who had the confidence of the country. Some of the leaders of this party, such as Roscoe Conkling, wished Grant to stand for a third term believing that his war record and the prestige he had won for the American people during his tour of the world would carry the country. But the opposition to the idea of a third term was too strong and General Garfield received the nomination of the party.

In 1881 General Grant moved to New York City, where he lived quietly for several years. On Christmas eve of 1883 he slipped on the ice at the door of his own house, and so injured himself that until the end of his life he was forced to walk with the help of a crutch. After moving to New York he became a partner in the banking house of Grant and Ward. In May, 1884, the firm suspended payment and Grant discovered himself a bankrupt. He had been hopelessly swindled and everything he owned had to

go to pay his debts. For a time it looked as if he were a partner to the guilt of the firm, as only a few days before the failure he had borrowed $100,000 from Mr Vanderbilt, but he was in no way implicated in the swindling transaction of the establishment.

This failure forced upon him a task greater than any he endured in the Wilderness. He desired to leave his family amply provided for; there was but one way in which he could do this—by his pen. He had often been asked to write his memoirs, and he now undertook the task of giving a history of his own life with particular reference to his campaigns. He had but little more than half completed the work when it was discovered that he was suffering from cancer at the root of his tongue, but he did not give in and bravely fought on at his work even while suffering intense pain, and four days before his death he was able to say, "it is finished."

On Thursday, July 23, at eight o'clock in the morning he passed quietly away,— mourned by the whole nation, North and South alike. President Cleveland voiced the sentiment of every true American when he said, in the proclamation announcing his death to the country, that he was "a great military leader who was, in the hour of victory magnanimous, amidst disaster serene and self-sustained. The great heart of the nation that followed him when living with love and pride, bows now in sorrow above him dead, tenderly mindful of his virtues and his great patriotic services."

CHAPTER XIV.

PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

(One Administration, 1877-1881.)

On the 4th of October, 1822, there was born in the little town of Delaware, on the western banks of the muddy Olentangy River, a delicate child whom no one expected to live, but who was afterwards to be a skilful and courageous general and to attain the high honour of President of the United States.

In 1817 and for several years before that time there had been a continuous movement westward from the New England States. The War of 1812 had somewhat depressed these States, and turned the attention of many of the inhabitants to the broad and fertile West. Among others who were attracted was Rutherford Hayes, a well-to-do merchant in Brattleboro. He was a man of Scotch descent, his ancestors, it is said, having fought with Baliol, William Wallace, and Robert Bruce against the English. However, towards the close of the seventeenth century, whatever wealth and power they may have had seems to have left them, for George Hayes, their descendant was unable to make a living in Scotland and so emigrated to America, and settled down in Connecticut. The mother of the President was Sophia Birchard,

likewise a descendant of Connecticut stock. Her ancestors, too, had early settled in America, and both her grandfathers had fought through the War of the Revolution.

At the beginning of the century the Hayes and the Birchard families were settled in Vermont, and it was here that Rutherford Hayes met his wife. The father of the President was too delicate a youth for the laborious work of the pioneer farmer and obtained a position as a clerk in a country store. He displayed considerable energy and economy in business and succeeded in establishing a store of his own in Brattleboro. He was prospering when the "Western fever" swept the East, and, although he had a capital of some three or four thousand dollars and a good business, decided to leave his home and seek his fortune in the Ohio Valley. He sold out his business and purchased a farm in the wilderness of Ohio. He packed his goods and family into a covered waggon drawn by three horses and thus made the long journey to Ohio. When he reached Delaware he found it a comfortable little town of some four hundred inhabitants. It was a sturdy community, religious and intelligent, composed of the more enterprising and daring spirits from the Eastern States. Ohio's pioneer population was indeed drawn from the best stock in the East.

When he reached his new home he seems to have lost his desire for farming, and instead of becoming a tiller of the soil, with his savings, procured an interest in a distillery. During the few years that were left to him of life he seems to have been a generous giver to the schools and churches of his adopted town.

Four years after he reached Delaware a plague swept Ohio, carrying off many of the inhabitants, and

among the first of its victims was Rutherford Hayes. About four months after his death his son Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born. As has already been said, the child was extremely delicate and its death was for several years anticipated. The mother, however, struggled diligently with it, and almost wore herself out in her efforts to save its life. Her friends thought her foolish; one generous spirit among them is reported as having said to her when she saw her struggling night and day for the life of her boy: "the child must die; and it is a waste of strength. I tell you the child is not worth saving." Had Rutherford Birchard Hayes been a Greek of the days of Pericles he would in all probability have been exposed on a hillside as unfit to live. However, the mother's love conquered, and although it was many years before her boy became strong, his life was soon out of danger, and as he grew in years his fine moral character and his keen intellect rewarded the mother for all her sacrifices.

He seems to have been a model boy, a mother's boy, and had none of the mischief that is ordinarily to be found in the young. His uncle Sardis Birchard had migrated with his father from Vermont, and from the beginning took an interest in the fatherless child.

He saw that he was bright beyond his fellows and decided that he was worthy of a college education. The common schools in Delaware were not capable of fitting him for his college course, and so he was placed under the private tutorship of Judge Sherman Finch, and made considerable progress in Latin and Greek. However, it was impossible to prepare fully for his matriculation in Delaware, and, due to the influence of his uncle, he went first to an academy at Norfolk, Ohio, in 1837, and afterwards to Isaac Webb's school

at Middleton, Connecticut. After being thoroughly prepared for matriculation he entered Kenyon College, which was selected on account of its nearness to his mother's home in Delaware.

He seems to have been an earnest, industrious student, and when he graduated, in 1842, stood at the head of his class, and was a general favorite with everybody connected with the institution.

After leaving college he began the study of law in the office of Thomas Sparrow of Columbus. He, however, remained in this office but a short time. He was anxious to become thoroughly equipped for the practice of law, and so in 1843 entered the law school of Harvard University and studied diligently for two years under Judge Story and Professor Greenleaf. But little is known of his life at Harvard. Of one thing, however, we can be certain he could not but be influenced by the brilliant minds that were at that time in the great seat of learning. We do know that he did not limit himself to the study of law, but attended the lectures of the poet Longfellow in literature, and sat for a time at the feet of the great scientist whose impress has been left so strongly marked on American science, Agassiz.

In March, 1845, he was admitted to the Bar and began the practice of law in Lower Sandusky (now Fremont) in Sandusky County, Ohio, where he formed a law partnership with Ralph P. Buckland. For five years he remained in this place but seeing little chance of rising in his profession in such a community moved to Cincinnati. This was an excellent step as it gave him a larger field for the practice of his profession, and at the same time brought him in contact with a number of able and ambitious men. At first the change did not improve his

financial position, and while waiting for his practice to grow he spent much time in the study of law and literature. Nothing, perhaps, did more for his development at this time than a literary club to which he belonged and in which he met such men as Salmon P. Chase, Thomas Ewing, and Moncure D. Conway.

Two years after establishing himself in Cincinnati his prospects were so bright that he married Miss Lucy W. Webb, daughter of Dr. James Webb, a physician in Chillicothe. He continued to practice law assiduously and rose so much in the estimation of the community, that in 1856 he was nominated for the office of judge of the court of Common Pleas. He, however, declined this office. Two years later he was appointed city solicitor by the city council to fill a vacancy made by the death of Judge Hart. In the following year the people elected him to this office by a large majority. He was, however, defeated in the election of 1861, when Ohio went strongly Democratic.

During his entire legal career he had taken a warm interest in the politics of his country. Like many other Republicans he had been in the beginning an ardent Whig, and had consistently voted for the Whig leaders. He had been an anti-slavery advocate and when the Republican party was formed joined it and supported Frémont in 1856 and Lincoln in 1860. When Lincoln was elected, and when South Carolina and the other Southern States began to secede he at once took a strong position with the North. A letter written by him on January 4, 1861, shows how firmly he was opposed to making any compromise with the Secessionists.

"South Carolina has passed," he wrote, "a cession ordinance and Federal laws are set at nought in the

State. Overt acts enough have been committed, forts and arsenals having been taken, a revenue cutter seized, and Major Anderson besieged in Fort Sumter. Other cotton States are about to follow. Disunion and civil war are at hand; and yet I fear disunion and war less than compromise. We can recover from them. The Free States alone, if we must go on alone, will make a glorious nation. I do not feel gloomy when I look forward. The reality is less frightful than the apprehension which we have all had these many years. Let us be temperate, calm, and just, but firm and resolute. Crittenden's compromise! Windham, speaking of the rumour that Bonaparte was about to invade England, said, 'The danger of invasion is by no means equal to that of peace. A man may escape a pistol, no matter how near his head, but not a dose of poison.'"

During the months when it was evident to every thinking man that war was inevitable Mr. Hayes had determined, despite the fact that his law practice had now become lucrative, to take up arms in behalf of the Union. When Sumter was fired upon and the call for men to serve for three months was sent forth he did not enlist. He knew that those who thought that the contest would be a short one would be mistaken and expecting that very soon a call for more men for a long term would be issued he, with many of his comrades in Cincinnati, bided his time. How strongly he felt on the situation is shown in the following letter to a friend written in May, 1861:

"Matthews and I have agreed to go into the service for the war; if possible into the same regiment. I spoke my feelings to him, which he said were his also: viz. that this was a just and necessary war; that it demanded the whole power of the country; and that

I would prefer to go into it, if I knew I were to die, or be killed in the course of it, rather than to live through and after it, without taking any part in it."

He did not have long to wait, the government soon recognised the serious nature of the contest and enlisted men for a term of three years. Mr. Hayes at once offered his service to his State, and Governor Dennison was prepared to give him the command of a regiment; but he refused the offer, believing that only experienced soldiers should be appointed to such important positions. He, however, accepted the position of Major of the 23rd Regiment of the Ohio Volunteer Infantry with W. S. Rosecrans, a distinguished graduate of West Point, as Colonel. However, before the regiment went into active service Colonel Rosecrans was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general and another graduate of West Point, Colonel Scammon, took command of the 23rd Regiment.

In this regiment were many brilliant men, several of whom were afterwards to become distinguished generals, and many, who were privates in the ranks, were before the end of the war to hold commissions. When Major Hayes received his appointment a young lad who was afterwards like Hayes to rise to the Presidential chair, was carrying a musket in the ranks, —William McKinley the last President of the United States in the nineteenth century.

After the regiment was properly organised and had undergone several months of drill, it was, in July, ordered into West Virginia. For several months it did much marching and counter-marching, suffering a good deal of hardship but gaining no glory. Major Hayes was appointed judge advocate on General Rosecrans' staff and for several months served in

that capacity, but he rejoined his regiment in time to take an active part in the battle of Carnifex Ferry. The 23rd on this day did good work in threatening the enemy's rear, but did not come into close contact with them. Major Hayes saw no more fighting for the present but with his regiment spent the winter of 1861–62, doing a species of police duty against an elusive foe, and, although he did not experience any battles, on several occasions narrowly escaped with his life. Fighting began for him on May 1, 1862, when he led a small party against Princeton, which the Confederates held with a considerable force, and succeeded in driving the garrison out, capturing a goodly supply of arms and ammunition.

Exciting times were at hand, however. General Lee marched "over the mountain wall" into Maryland. It was necessary to concentrate the armies of the Union in the Eastern States against him. Major Hayes, for the excellent service he had done during the past year, had been offered the position of Lieutenant-Colonel of the 79th Ohio Regiment, and was struggling with himself whether to accept promotion or remain with his old regiment, when the 23rd was called from Virginia to Maryland to help drive Lee once more across the Potomac. As a result of this movement on the part of the enemy he was to take part in the battle of South Mountain, September 4, 1862. It was the first time that the 23rd was to experience a big battle, but from drummer boy to colonel all behaved as if they had been familiar with war all their lives.

Of the regiment that had left Ohio in July, 1861, not half remained,—disease and hardship had worked havoc with the ranks. However, those who were left were eager for battle and when the com-

mand was given to charge they fearlessly rushed forward, with the Major at their head. When they passed a piece of rising ground a perfect hell of grape shot and musketry swept their ranks. The ground was ploughed up in furrows and the trees through which they charged were denuded of their leaves and branches. At the first volley five officers and a hundred men fell killed or wounded, but the remainder of the gallant little company wavered not. Major Hayes was wounded in the arm and it was thought at first that he was killed, but as soon as he recovered from the shock he tied a handkerchief around his sleeve and once more gallantly led his men into action, and through the day he fought until, when faint from loss of blood, he was carried from the field. The 23rd were so well "shot over" on this occasion that they were ever afterwards among the veteran regiments of the war.

Major Hayes' wound was so serious that he was compelled to go to hospital for some weeks, and of course missed the chance of being in the great battle of Antietam. As soon as tidings of his misfortune reached Ohio his wife hastened from her home in search of him. It was not an easy matter to find him, and she searched anxiously through the houses, barns, and sheds where the wounded of the battle of South Mountain had been placed, scanning eagerly the suffering faces for her husband. At last she found him, and with tender hands nursed him till he was able to rejoin his regiment. His one wish during his sickness seems to have been "to be on hand again shortly."

When he recovered from his wound he found that Governor Dennison had in the meantime appointed him Colonel of his old regiment. However, he was

not again to lead it in action, as in December of that same year he was detailed to act as brigadier-general and placed in command of the Kanawha Division to which the 23rd was attached.

While the great battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg were being fought, he was engaged in superintending the breaking of the lines of communication, and while he did good work had not the opportunity of displaying the qualities that make for rapid promotion. It was during this period that he materially assisted in the capture of John Morgan, the celebrated rebel leader. The following account of the manner in which he helped to run this great Confederate soldier to earth shows, better perhaps than anything else in his career, that he had the quickness of perception and the dash that are only found in the greatest of soldiers:

"Colonel Hayes rode forward to Fayetteville to obtain information, and, on reaching the town, galloped at once to the telegraph office, where, without dismounting, he called to the operator through the open window, 'What's the news?' The man at the instrument turned, and was about to give him a brief history of events, when a signal came over the wires; and the man said. 'Hold, I am called.' Colonel Hayes then went into the office, and read the following despatch as it came from the instrument:—

"John Morgan is crossing the Scioto at Piketon, Ohio, and is making for Gallipolis. He will arrive there day after to-morrow."

"This was startling news to Colonel Hayes. 'John Morgan in Ohio,' he exclaimed, 'and making for Gallipolis!' The operator then explained that the rebel raider was hard beset by Union cavalry, and that he was evidently seeking escape from the State

by crossing the Ohio river at Gallipolis, where there was no adequate force to dispute his passage, or to protect large quantities of supplies which had been collected there. Colonel Hayes comprehended the situation in an instant, and as quickly sent this despatch over the wires:—

"'Are there any steamboats at Charleston?'

"'Yes, two,' was the almost immediate answer.

"'Send them up to Fayetteville at once,' Hayes responded.

"'All right,' replied the Charleston quartermaster.

"Colonel Hayes, without having received another word of information, jumped into the saddle, and galloped back to camp fifteen miles. He reached camp at nightfall, and laid the whole matter before General Scammon, who gave him permission to take two regiments, and a section of artillery, and hasten to Gallipolis. He then announced his purpose to the soldiers, who greeted his orders with wild hurrahs. In half an hour his little column was in motion, groping its way along the rough mountain road. The night was moonless, and the darkness sometimes so intense, that the regiment was compelled to halt until the clouds cleared, before they could go forward. All night the weary march was continued; and, just as dawn began to streak the summits of the mountains, the column, reaching a high point overlooking the Kanawha valley, near Fayetteville, saw the two steamboats rounding a bend, and coming up the river. The troops and the boats reached the wharf almost simultaneously; and, within an hour, the whole command had embarked, and the steamers were under full headway down the Kanawha, their decks strewn with tired and sleeping soldiers. By daylight the

next morning, the boats reached Gallipolis and the troops disembarked, and took up positions to defend the town. But Morgan had been advised by spies of their approach when six miles away, and turned his column northward toward Pomeroy, another point on the Ohio. Colonel Hayes instantly re-embarked, and steamed up the river to overtake him. He arrived in time to go out and meet the enemy while advancing upon the town; but Morgan's officers were not long in discovering that something tougher was in front of them than militia regiments; and they suddenly drew off, remounted, and made for Buffington's island, a point still farther up the river. Here Morgan seized a steamboat and had ferried over about three hundred of his men, when Colonel Hayes arrived, seized the boat, and put a stop to any further progress in that line. Morgan himself had crossed the river; but seeing that his main body was about to be cut off, he recrossed and remained with his soldiers to share their fortunes. After some fighting, he drew off again, and made for other points up the river. But the last opportunity for escape had passed; and the Confederate raiders, hardly beset by Generals Hobson and Shackelford, were speedily driven to the wall, and forced to surrender."

For nearly a year b[illegible]le was heard of the Kanawha Division, and [illegible]was not until General Grant had command of the armies of the Union that Colonel Hayes was again brought prominently to the front.

At Cloud Mountain the Union forces came on the Confederates strongly entrenched. Colonel Hayes led his brigade up a steep mountain in the face of a trying fire, but his soldiers were not to be checked. Over the enemy's breastworks they clambered, and

with clubbed rifles beat the gunners back and captured two guns. It was a gallant charge, but it was really only the beginning of the fight. On another spur of the mountain higher up and more strongly protected was another force of the enemy, and without any rest this too was stormed with the same results as at the first position. The ascent and the struggle had somewhat tired the Union soldiers but there was still no rest for them. Higher up yet was another spur and on this was the main body of the enemy, who having received reinforcements made a gallant stand. A fierce struggle took place—a hand to hand contest at the very muzzles of the guns—but in the end the Confederates were beaten back and the Union soldiers held possession of their guns.

The next struggle they were to go through was that which culminated in the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, but in the meantime the brigade over which Colonel Hayes had command had much work to do. According to a correspondent who was with the force it "marched one hundred and eighty miles in the last nine days, fighting nearly all the time, and with very little to eat."

Colonel Hayes was in the first battle of Winchester which took place on July 24, 1864. In this action the Union troops were sorely pressed, and it devolved upon him to protect the rear of the retreating army. A rear-guard fight is a difficult one, but he handled his men magnificently, retreating with skill and seizing every opportunity to turn and face the enemy. His work on this occasion did much to save the army of General Crook.

At the beginning of the Shenandoah campaign his division made a vigorous campaign against Early and he was in the thick of the fight at Opequan

Creek, when the second battle of Winchester was fought. In this great fight, in which Early all but won through taking advantage of the absence of the Union cavalry, Colonel Hayes found his brigade under a heavy fire from musketry and artillery. His soldiers wavered, but he had no thought of turning back. Placing himself at their head he commanded them to charge forward on the double quick. Through the thick underbrush they advanced until a deep and muddy ditch was reached. A rebel battery was planted on the further side, and as his brigade would in all probability have been cut to pieces had it taken time to go round this ditch he decided that there was nothing for it but to charge through the seemingly impassable barrier. Into the thick water he spurred his horse which in a few moments was stuck fast in the deep mud. He had burnt his ships behind him; it was easier to continue the advance now than to turn back, and so, dismounting, he waded ashore and waving to his men, pointed towards the battery. His gallant fellows, under his inspiration, threw themselves into the stream to follow in his steps, many of them were drowned and a number killed by the searching fire that swept their ranks. There was no resisting such a leader and such men; the enemy fled before the impetuous charge, which had not a little to do with forcing General Early to fall back to Fisher's Hill.

Early was rapidly followed up and on the 22nd was once more vigorously attacked by Sheridan. In this fight Colonel Hayes executed a magnificent flank movement over difficult ground and succeeded in reaching the rear of Early's force, which was thus threatened with annihilation. Colonel Hayes remained at the head of his men throughout the day and

gallantly led the final charge which had the effect of scattering the enemy in confusion and many prisoners and guns were captured.

Early, however, was not forced to surrender and a few days later at Cedar Creek, knowing that the bulk of the cavalry were absent from Sheridan's army, attacked Crook's Division. In this fight, which for a time looked serious for the Union, Hayes was once more to prove himself an excellent strategist. He conducted a rear-guard fight that did much to save the day. His work enabled Crook to make an effective stand against Early's desperate troops. During the fight Hayes at one time saw some of his men wavering and galloped forward at full speed through a fierce fire to rally them. His horse was shot under him and he was thrown so heavily that for a time it was thought that he was killed. He was, however, only stunned, and as soon as he recovered from the fall urged his men to charge into the enemy's ranks. It was not, however, until Sheridan galloped down the Winchester road and put new life into the army that the day was decided.

It was on this day that General Crook seized Hayes by the hand on the battle-field and exclaimed, "Colonel from this day you will be a brigadier-general." Soon after this incident his commission arrived. He had been acting brigadier-general for some time, but he now took rank as one, having been awarded the commission "for gallant and meritorious service in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek."

He took part in no engagements after this, and when the war was over returned to his home having, with the exception of a few weeks, fought continuously through the long struggle. He had proved him-

self one of the best generals in the army, and although without military experience before taking up the sword in July, 1861, had proved himself a worthy rival of the best generals educated at West Point. His judgment and courage attracted the attention of his superiors, and such a finished warrior as Grant had for him words of the highest praise.

CHAPTER XV.

PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (*Continued.*)

General Hayes had not laid down the sword before he found himself entering upon another field of battle in the council chambers of his country. He had ever taken a warm interest in politics, and had been a most enthusiastic admirer of Daniel Webster and the other great Whig leaders. So much did he admire Webster, that, it is said, he could repeat many of his speeches without missing a word. In 1853, he began to take an active interest in the Free Soil movement and joined a Free Soil club which was formed in Cincinnati. His growing law practice had, however, kept him from devoting his time to politics, but it was only a matter of a few years before he would be drawn into the political life of his country.

In 1864 the Republicans of the second congressional district of Ohio realised that if they were going to win they must place the strongest possible man in the field. Hayes, although on active service, was chosen. He was requested to resign from the army, and return to his native State and assist in the campaign. To this request he gave a characteristic reply: "I have other business just now. Any man who would leave the army at this time to electioneer for Congress ought to be scalped." This reply no doubt

was as effective a way of canvassing as he could have adopted, and the election cry, "Hayes is stumping the Shenandoah valley" helped materially to give him a large majority. After the election he was urged to resign his commission in the army, but would not leave it until the difficulty between the North and the South was settled.

"I shall never," he said, "come to Washington until I come by the way of Richmond." Before he left the army after the war was at an end his soldiers proved by the following resolution that they appreciated his patriotism and loyalty to them:

"Resolved, That General Hayes, in addition to possessing the ability and statesmanship necessary to qualify him in an eminent degree for Chief Magistrate of the great State of Ohio, is a soldier unsurpassed for patriotism and bravery; he having served four years in the army, earning his promotion from Major in one of the Ohio regiments to his present position."

This resolution was passed with the hope that their general might be elected Governor of Ohio.

When he took his seat in the House of Representatives he became an energetic worker, but was no speech-maker, and, although his voice was seldom heard, and never in an important speech, his Ohio friends retained every confidence in him and renominated him in 1866. It was in this year that he was to come prominently before the nation as a strong speaker and an able politician. It was a critical time, a time of reconstruction, when it needed wise men,—in Congress particularly so, as one lacking wisdom was filling the President's chair.

A speech delivered by him in Cincinnati during the campaign of 1866, gives his attitude towards the South with fullness and strength:—

"How ought the nation to deal with the people of the States lately in rebellion? No scheme of reconstruction will be found in its practical working to be humane and just and wise, unless it is planned with particular reference to the different elements of the population of which those States are composed. That population consists of disloyal white people, loyal white people, and loyal coloured people. In the South, there is a class, or caste, which by its wealth, intelligence, and social consideration, forms the opinion and controls the political action of the masses of the people, to an extent greater than is seen in any other part of the United States. We therefore naturally divide disloyal white people into leaders and their followers, the masses of the people. The masses consist of ignorant and unthinking, but well-meaning people, and also of a class which is very large in all the slave States: I mean the ruffian class, the men who, in slave-holding communities, have been brutalised by the occupation which slavery made necessary,—the slave traders, the keepers of slave pens, the slave drivers, and slave catchers, the men who have been educated in violence and cruelty to human beings of both sexes and of all ages. From the hostility of this class, which has lost its occupation, by the freedom of the slave, the loyal people of the South need special and powerful protection.

"There are now only two plans of reconstruction before the country,—the plan of those who supported the war measures of Mr. Lincoln's administration, which may be called the Union plan; and the plan which originated with those who opposed the war measures of Mr. Lincoln, and which may be called the Rebel plan. There was another plan before the country, which in some of its features was like the

Union plan, in others it resembled the Rebel plan, and it had some provisions peculiar to itself.

"This plan, which may properly be called the Administration plan, never had many supporters outside of the influence of Executive patronage, and has now been, as I shall hereafter show, for all practical purposes, abandoned.....

"After the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, the task of continuing the work of restoring civil government in the rebellious States devolved upon President Johnson. He undertook the work of re-organising in seven States.....the first was North Carolina, an old Whig State. Its population and politicians —extremely conservative, opposed strongly to nullification in the days of Calhoun—were carried away by what General Grant calls 'the foolish notion of State-rights.' A decided majority of the people hostile to rebellion at the beginning, and having a considerable number of able and intelligent men, remained steadfast in their fidelity to the Union throughout the whole war. With all these advantages for the re-establishment of a State government on a loyal basis, the result is that North Carolina has a rebel governor, a rebel legislature, a rebel judiciary, and has chosen an unbroken delegation of rebel senators and rebel representatives to the Congress of the United States. I need not name the other six States. It is enough to say, that, with two or three unimportant exceptions, the history, in all its details, of North Carolina in this matter may be read as the history of each of the other States which President Johnson undertook to re-organise. All of them have chosen for governors men who were leading rebels; and rebels fill their legislative and judicial offices. Twelve of the fourteen United States senators chosen

by the rebel States are leading rebels, and the men chosen to represent them in the House of Representatives stand,—rebels, 22; men of supposed loyalty, 2; and four yet to be chosen from Texas, all of whom are likely to be rebels. The restoration of two States begun by Mr. Lincoln was continued by President Johnson,—Louisiana and Virginia. Under Mr. Lincoln they had loyal legislatures and loyal men elected to Congress. Under the plan of President Johnson, both States now have rebel legislatures and rebel congressional delegations."

After continuing his severe criticism of President Johnson's plan of reconstruction, speaking of it as synonymous with the rebel plan he went on as follows:

"Instead of this plan of dealing with the people of the rebellious States, the Union party presents a plan which also has the merit of being in perfect harmony with the opinions and history of that party during the whole war. We have already seen that the leading objects or desires with the Union party have been,

"1. The removal of every relic of slavery from the Federal Constitution and from the constitutions and laws of all the States.

"2. That loyalty should be respected and treason made odious.

"3. That the national obligations to the patriotic people who furnish men and means to crush the rebellion should be faithfully fulfilled."

In the following year in a speech at Sidney, Ohio, he again dealt at length with the all important matter of reconstructing the Union.

"We want reconstruction," he said, "upon such principles, and by means of such measures, that the causes which made reconstruction necessary shall not

exist in the reconstructed Union. We want that foolish notion of State-rights, which teaches that the State is superior to the Nation, that there is a State sovereignty which commands the allegiance of every citizen, higher than the sovereignty of the nation,—we want that notion left out of the reconstructed Union. We want it understood, that whatever doubts may have existed prior to the war, as to the relation of the State to the National government, that now the National government is supreme, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. Again: As one of the causes of the rebellion, we want slavery left out, not merely in name, but in fact forever. We want the last vestige, the last of that institution, rooted out of the laws and institutions of every State. We want that in the South there shall be no more suppression of free discussion.....For more than thirty years, fellow citizens, there has been no such thing as free discussion in the South. Those moderate speeches of Abraham Lincoln on the subject of slavery—not one of them could have been delivered without endangering his life south of Mason and Dixon's Line. We want in the reconstructed Union that there shall be the same freedom of the press and freedom of speech in the States of the South that there always has been in the States of the North. Again: We want a reconstructed Union upon such principles, that the men of the South who, during the war, were loyal and true to the President, shall be protected in life, liberty, and property, and in the exercise of their political rights."

Every time he touched upon the matter of reconstruction he had nothing but words of severest censure for Andrew Johnson, and when the time came

for him to vote in Congress on the impeachment of the President he unhesitatingly voted for his impeachment. His opinion of President Johnson is very clearly stated in the following paragraph:

"Make no such mistakes as that. Make no mistakes which shall make glad the heart of the traitor who fills the White House. The truth is, that, in the presence of the great issue that is now before the country, every man is under a solemn duty, to see, if possible, that he makes no mistakes. Andrew Johnson is prepared, if he believes the country sustains him, to make war upon the loyal Congress. On the other hand, if he thinks the country will not sustain him, we have confidence that he lacks those qualities which will enable him to make war where there is no prospect of success. It becomes the duty, then, of every Union man to see that he introduces no new issue into the Union party; that he does nothing to distract it; that he does nothing to create discord, but everything to strengthen and unite the party upon which depends the safety, the interest, and the glory of the country."

His attitude towards reconstruction and his censures on the President were evidently appreciated by the Republican party in Ohio, for at the Convention which met at Columbus, June 10, 1867, he was selected as its candidate for governor. One of the great issues during this campaign was the negro suffrage. There was a strong opposition in Ohio to granting the negroes the suffrage, and it required a particularly popular man to win in the face of this opposition. However, he took his stand firmly in favour of the negro suffrage.

"It gives," he said, "the right of suffrage to all the negroes of Ohio. Mark the phrase. I have not

said impartial suffrage or manhood suffrage. I wish to be understood. It gives the suffrage to the negroes of Ohio upon the same terms that it is given to white men. The reason I am in favour of that is because it is right."

General Hayes made a most vigorous campaign, delivering in all over eighty speeches. He was elected by about three hundred of a majority, but in both Houses of the State Legislature there was a Democratic majority. In 1869, he was again nominated for the governorship of the State and was again elected. His speeches during this campaign on the internal affairs of Ohio were masterly efforts. As a governor he won the esteem of both parties. His record was a clean one and he was unceasing in his efforts for reform. In 1872 he was a candidate for Congress, but the Democratic influence against him was too great and he was defeated.

In the following year he took up his abode at Fremont, intending never again to enter public life. He was now a wealthy man and hoped to spend the balance of his days in the quiet retirement of this peaceful town. He could not, however, shape his own life; forces were at work that were to compel him to take an active interest in the making of his country's history.

The Democrats were getting an ever firmer hold on Ohio, and the Republicans to win the State in 1875 urged General Hayes to once more allow himself to stand for the governorship. President Grant had shortly before this offered him the position of Assistant-Treasurer of the United States at Cincinnati, but he had refused it. Now, however, the call was so urgent and the issue so important that he could

not refrain from once more entering the political arena.

The great issue in this campaign was irredeemable paper money, and the governorship was fought out along the lines of Federal rather than State politics. The platform of the Democrats was: "Gold and silver, when used as money, are redeemable in any property there is for sale in the nation, will pay taxes for any debt, public or private. This alone gives them their money value. If you had a hundred gold eagles, and you could not exchange them for the necessaries of life, they would be trash, and you would be glad to exchange them for greenbacks, or anything else that you could use to purchase what you require. With an absolute paper money stamped by the government, and made a legal tender for all purposes, and its functions as money are as perfect as gold or silver can be."

This financial scheme of the Democratic party was vigorously combated by General Hayes. He pointed out that irredeemable paper money promoted speculation and extravagance and discouraged legitimate business, honest labour, and economy.

"It stimulates," he said, "the desire to incur debt; it causes high rates of interest; it increases importations from abroad; it has no fixed value; it is liable to frequent and great fluctuations, thereby rendering every pecuniary engagement precarious, and disturbing all existing contracts and expectations; it is the parent of panic; every period of inflation is followed by a loss of confidence, a shrinkage of values, depression of business, panics, lack of employment, and widespread disaster and distress; the heaviest part of the calamity falls on those least able to bear it. The wholesale dealer, the middleman and the retailer,

always endeavour to cover the risks of the fickle standard of value by raising their prices; but the man of small means, and the labourer, are thrown out of employment, and want and suffering are liable soon to follow."

He further pointed out that under an irredeemable paper money the wildest enterprises were undertaken, and in the end there was bankruptcy and ruin. It would be impossible to regulate the issue of such money so as to prevent the evils he foresaw. There was as he said "no man, no government, no Congress wise enough and pure enough to be trusted with the tremendous power over the business and property and labour of the country. That which concerns so intimately all business should be decided, if possible, on business principles, and not be left to depend on the exigencies of politics, the interests of party, or the ambition of public men."

Along with this matter of currency there was another great question agitating the minds of the Ohio electors at this time,—the question of free schools. General Hayes was strongly in favour of free and unsectarian schools. He accepted the resolution reported by the committee on resolutions at the Republican State Convention:

"That we are in favour of free, impartial, and unsectarian education to every child in the States, and that any division of the school fund or appropriation of any part thereof to any religious or private schools, would be injurious to education and the best interests of the church."

He took for his motto in this fight "Honest money for all, and free schools for all," and on this stand he was elected governor for two years.

His campaign was more far reaching than merely

winning him his State; the eyes of the Union were on him. The fight in Ohio for honest money had attracted the attention of the entire country and Governor Hayes by the strong way in which he handled this question became a National figure. His party in Ohio were not slow to recognise this and among themselves he was talked about as the next candidate for the Presidency. He, however, smiled at such suggestions, and never for a moment looked towards the White House.

CHAPTER XVI.

PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (*Concluded*).

When the Republican Convention of Ohio met in March 1876, the name of Governor Hayes was recommended as the candidate of the party for the Presidency and preparations were made to bring his name prominently before the National Republican Convention which was called to meet at Cincinnati on June 14. On June 15, General Noyes of Ohio, presented the name of Governor Hayes to the Convention. It was not, however, at first received with much enthusiasm. There were a number of other very strong candidates in the field—James G. Blaine, Oliver P. Morton, Benjamin H. Bristow, Roscoe Conkling, and John F. Hartranft. Among so many conflicting forces it was a difficult matter for the convention to come to a decision. James G. Blaine, despite the attempt that had so lately been made to slander his name, was immensely the strongest candidate, and on the first ballot had 285 to Hayes' 61. But as the balloting proceeded the delegates supporting the other candidates, seeing they could not win themselves, determined to defeat Blaine, and on the seventh ballot Hayes received 384 votes and on motion of William P. Frye the nomination was made unanimous.

The party had considerable confidence in him. His record was a clean one, he had been a distinguished soldier, his principles were sound, and his policy was known to the country through his letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency. He was determined to have genuine civil service reform. Since the days of Andrew Jackson patronage had been the curse of the country. "To the victors belong the spoils" was the cry after every election. He was determined that the civil service should be reformed thoroughly and radically. He realised that in order to make the reforms his country needed he must make it evident to all that he was seeking for no second term. He was undertaking the struggle with his eyes open. He could not but make bitter enemies if he were to carry out the principles he laid down in his letter of acceptance. "Believing," he said, "that the restoration of the civil service to the system established by Washington, and followed by the early presidents, can best be accomplished by an Executive, who is under no temptation to use the patronage of his office to promote his own re-election, I desire to perform what I regard as a duty, in stating now my inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for election to a second term." He likewise stated his opposition towards an irredeemable paper currency in very much the same language as he had done in his campaign for governor. He likewise expressed himself most strongly with regard to the South and showed a desire to bring about a permanent peace in that part of his country which was still suffering from the Civil war.

In the campaign for the Presidency he was opposed by Samuel J. Tilden of New York, and after a hard campaign the election ended most unsatisfactorily.

Tilden had a large popular vote in his favour, but both sides claimed an electoral majority. The difficulty which arose at this time is very clearly stated in Bryce's *The American Commonwealth.*

"In 1876," writes that distinguished historian, "Mr. Hayes was the Republican candidate for the presidency, Mr. Tilden the Democratic. The former carried his list of electors in seventeen States, whose aggregate electors numbered 163, and the latter carried his list also in seventeen States whose aggregate electors numbered 184. (As the total number of electors was 369, 184 was within one of being a half of that number). Four States remained out of the total thirty-eight and in each of these four two sets of persons had been chosen by popular vote, each set claiming, on grounds too complicated to be here explained, to be the duly chosen electors from those States respectively. The electoral votes of these four States amounted to 22, so that if in any one of them the Democratic set of electors had been found to have been duly chosen, the Democratic would have secured a majority of electoral votes, whereas even if in all of them Republican electors had been chosen, the Republican electors would have had a majority of one only."

The Republicans claimed all these doubtful States, accusing the Democrats of intimidating voters and tampering with ballot boxes. The situation was a very critical one; the Senate was at the time Republican and the House Democratic, and it looked for a moment as if the country was on the verge of a political war. However, good sense prevailed and an electoral commission of fifteen members, three Republican and two Democratic senators, three Democratic and two Republican representatives, and

five justices of the Supreme Court, two of whom should be Republican, and two Democratic, was appointed. These fourteen members were to select the fifteenth, another judge. It was the intention to select Judge Davis of Illinois, but while the crisis was impending he resigned from the Supreme Bench and was elected to the Senate and Justice Bradley a Republican was chosen. The disputed points were settled by a party vote, eight to seven, in favour of the Republican returns. It was not until the 2nd of March that the count was completed, and Mr. Hayes found himself President of the United States by a majority of 1. Through this struggle Mr. Tilden behaved in a most honourable manner. He believed himself rightfully elected, as did a very large portion of the electors, and had he but taken his stand against the decision of the commission, another war might have been precipitated.

President Hayes was inaugurated on March 5, and in his inaugural address once more emphasised his position on the questions that had called him to the Presidential office. His desire was to see permanent peace in the country and to bring back the Southern States, not by force, but by love. He recognised the difficulties in the way, but he believed that the time was not far distant when "the tremendous revolution" which had passed over them would be recognised as a blessing. The difficulty, he saw, was the race difficulty, and the evils which afflicted the South could, he believed, be remedied only by the united and harmonious efforts of both races. It is now twenty-five years since his inaugural address was delivered, and yet so bitter is the race feeling that the whole South was horrified a short time ago when

President Roosevelt invited to dinner at the White House an intelligent and cultured negro.

In his inaugural address, too, he was most emphatic on the matter of civil service reform. There should no longer be partisan service, he would have things revert to the principles and practices of the founders of the government. Public officers should give their whole service to the government and to the people; they should be secure in their tenure of office as long as their personal character remained untarnished and they satisfactorily performed their duties.

He likewise dealt with the matter of irredeemable paper currency and maintained that "the only safe paper currency is one which rests upon a coin basis and is at all times and promptly convertible into coin." Another important matter that he dealt with was the question of international arbitration. He hoped that in the case of any difference arising between the United States and any foreign government that the difficulty would be settled in a peaceful and honourable way.

As his inaugural address is read it will be seen that in the twenty-five years that have passed since he uttered it, there has been comparatively little change in the Republican party. The noble address delivered by President McKinley on the day before his death is in almost every particular at one with the inaugural address of President Hayes.

The following men were selected by the President to assist him in the government of the country: William M. Evarts, Secretary of State; John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy; David M. Key, Postmaster-

General; Charles Devens, Attorney-General; and Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior.

As soon as President Hayes was installed in office he at once began to carry out the pledges he had made to the people of the United States. He had expressed the determination to endeavour to bring about an abiding peace with the secession States. The feeling in these States was still very bitter, as was to be expected, against the North, and the Federal government had found it necessary in order to keep peace to have troops stationed in the South. The President realised that so long as the troops remained there, keeping the inhabitants faithful to the Union by force of arms, it would be impossible for the Southerners to forget the past. He had come to power at a time when, due to the election difficulty, the armed force seemed all the more needed in the State houses of South Carolina and Louisiana, but he determined to trust the Southern States to make them realise that they were once more self-governing bodies, integral parts of the Union. He therefore determined to withdraw the troops and in the month after his inauguration, having been assured that peace and good will would be maintained in these States, he ordered the withdrawal of the Federal troops. This was an exceedingly wise course and was much appreciated by the best thinking people in the North, and did much to allay the bitter feeling in the South. However, there was a party in the country which was opposed to this course and which said many bitter things against the President. The politicians felt that by withdrawing the armed force from the Southern States they were to some extent losing control of that part of their country.

The President at once gave his attention to the

matter of civil service reform. Three months after his inauguration, on June 22, he issued an order: "That no officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organisations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote or to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessment for political purposes on officers or subordinates, should be allowed. This rule is applicable to every department of the Civil Service. It should be understood by every officer of the general government that he is expected to conform his conduct to its requirements."

This was an exceedingly courageous order. The Republican party had been using public offices for the purpose of keeping itself in power. Some of the ablest men in the party were in this respect the most corrupt. It was one thing to issue such an order; it was another thing to put it in force. The President was soon to be tested. Chester A. Arthur and Alonzo B. Cornell, two of the ablest and most partisan Republicans, although not guilty of what could be called corrupt practices, were guilty, in the face of the President's orders, of using their positions for partisan ends, and when the matter was brought to the attention of the President he unhesitatingly suspended them and nominated men of his own choice for the offices of Collector of Customs of the Port of New York and of Naval Officer. In taking this step he gave the following reasons:

"For a long period of time it (the New York custom house) has been used to manage and control political affairs. The officers suspended by me are,

and for several years have been, engaged in the active personal management of the party politics of the city and State of New York. The duties of the offices held by them have been regarded as of subordinate importance to their partisan work. Their offices have been conducted as part of the political machinery under their control. They have made the custom house the centre of partisan political management."

He was to be tried in another direction. In the first months of his administration the railroad employees became very much dissatisfied with the treatment they received from several of the extensive railroad corporations, and strikes extended over large sections of the country. Riots were common and severe conflicts took place between the State troops and the mob. The President, in July, found it necessary to send Federal troops to the scene of the rioting, and these troops had the effect of restoring order.

His first year as President closed well, and when he prepared his annual message in December he was able to speak glowingly on affairs in the country, and particularly on the satisfactory turn things had taken in the South. "All apprehension of danger," he said, "from remitting those States to local self-government is dispelled, and a most salutary change in the minds of the people has begun and is in progress in every part of that section of the country once the theatre of unhappy civil strife; substituting for suspicion, distrust, and aversion, concord, friendship, and patriotic attachment to the Union. No unprejudiced mind will deny that the terrible and often fatal collisions which for several years have been of frequent occurrence, and have agitated and alarmed the public mind, have almost entirely ceased, and that

a spirit of mutual forbearance and hearty national interest has succeeded. There has been a general re-establishment of order, and of the orderly administration of justice; instances of remaining lawlessness have become of rare occurrence; political turmoil and turbulence have disappeared; useful industries have been resumed; public credit in the Southern States has been greatly strengthened and the encouraging benefit of a revival of commerce between the sections of country lately embroiled in civil war are fully enjoyed."

In this same message he once more took a strong stand against an irredeemable paper currency and against the unlimited coinage of silver.

With regard to the matter of currency he was at this time a mighty force for good. The House and the Senate were both in favour of a silver basis, and a silver bill which was much opposed to the President's recommendations passed both Houses. He very promptly vetoed this bill, declaring that "as to all debts heretofore contracted, the silver dollar shall be made a legal tender only at its market value. The standard of value should not be changed without the consent of both parties to the contract. National promises should be kept with unflinching fidelity. There is no power to compel a nation to pay its just debts. Its credit depends on its honour. A nation owes what it has led or allowed its creditors to expect. I cannot approve a bill which in my judgment authorises the violation of sacred obligations."

A number of other questions affecting the internal affairs of his country received the attention of the President. He put forth strong efforts to civilise the Indians; he made an endeavour to preserve the vast

forests of his country which were in many cases being recklessly destroyed; and he advocated strenuous laws against the practice of polygamy in Utah. Another matter which attracted his attention was the prohibiting of military interference at elections. Congress passed an act to this effect; but the President vetoed it. He believed that "the elections should be free from forcible interference," and that "no soldiery either of the United States or of the State militia should be present at the polls to perform the duties of the ordinary civil police force," but at the same time he maintained that "there should be no denial of the right of the National government to employ its military force on any day and at any place in case such employment is necessary to enforce the Constitution and laws of the United States."

During his term as President no great international questions stirred the country; however, several minor questions came up and from the able way the President handled them there is no doubt but that he would have been a wise President at a time of great crisis. The first foreign question that came before his notice was through a bill which Congress passed to restrict the immigration of Chinese to the United States. The President vetoed this bill; he had no doubt that there were evils due to the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese, but it would not do for his country to override existing treaties, even with what was considered a weak power, without giving due notice to that power. On this question he rose to the dignity of his office and showed himself an excellent diplomat. He declared that the "abrogation of a treaty by one of the contracting parties is justifiable only upon reasons both of the highest justice and of the highest necessity." To

abrogate a treaty due notice should be given, the day should be fixed in advance and, in this case, China ought to have been given an opportunity of speaking. The bill which had passed Congress he believed, "would be regarded by the enlightened judgment of mankind as the denial of the obligation of the National faith."

The only other matter of international importance which came before his attention was the Panama Canal project, and on this matter he adhered to the National attitude of "American control." His position was that which has been definitely arrived at by the two great nations concerned, England and the United States, in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. "The United States," he said, "cannot consent to the surrender of this control to any European Power or to any combination of European Powers. If existing treaties between the United States and other nations, or if the rights of sovereignty or property of other nations, stand in the way of this policy—a contingency which is not apprehended—suitable steps should be taken by just and liberal negotiations to promote and establish the American policy on this subject, consistently with the rights of the nations to be affected by it. An inter-oceanic canal across the American isthmus will be the great ocean thoroughfare between our Atlantic and our Pacific shores and virtually a part of the coast line of the United States. No other great Power would, under similar circumstances, fail to assert a rightful control over a work so closely and vitally affecting its interests and welfare."

In his last annual message to Congress, December 6, 1880, President Hayes emphasised the positions he had taken in his inaugural address four years pre-

viously. He had changed in no way during his term of office; he had taken no step backward, but was still ardent for peace within the Union, for righteous government, for sound money, and for maintaining a dignified and honourable position in international affairs.

No other President who had occupied the White House had been more vigorously attacked by his enemies than had Hayes. At the same time he was not in favour with a large section of the Republican party. His civil service reform made him many enemies and there was no thought of urging upon him the necessity of standing for a second term. However, much good had been done during his term of office. He had taken up the reins of government at a time when there was great depression in business, and when he retired from the government to his Fremont home after the inauguration of his successor there was a general revival in trade and commerce that augured well for the future.

In the early seventies General Hayes had had a desire to live in retirement, free from the busy world of men and politics. He had now an opportunity to realise this desire and until January 17, 1893, he lived quietly in his Ohio home. He could not, however, be idle, and the closing years of his life were spent in noble philanthropic work. He was not without reward; Harvard University, Yale College Johns Hopkins University, and Kenyon College all honoured him with the degree of LL. D. Other honours were bestowed upon him, but what he valued most was a realisation towards the end of his life, that the men who had reviled him for the course he had pursued during his presidential career were

gradually beginning to acknowledge that he had ever acted for the right.

While he was not a man of great intellectual force, he was in many ways one of the strongest presidents of the latter half of the century,—one quite capable of grappling with the most serious crisis that might have arisen. He was unbending without being stubborn, and it would have been as easy for the politicians to have made a tool of Abraham Lincoln as of Rutherford Birchard Hayes.

CHAPTER XVII.

PRESIDENT JAMES A. GARFIELD.

(One Administration, 1881—.)

Nothing could be more uncertain than a Presidential nomination. It has been shown on several previous occasions that the most unlikely prominent politician in the country was the one chosen to lead his party to victory. This was peculiarly the case at the convention which met in Chicago in 1880, and which selected James A. Garfield to be the standard bearer of the great Republican party. He was a comparatively unknown man, having gone to the convention an ardent supporter of John Sherman, and to his own surprise and the surprise of the nation was selected over General Grant, James G. Blaine, and others.

General Garfield was born in Orange, Cayuga County, Ohio, November 19, 1831. His father, Abraham Garfield, was, however, an Easterner, a native of New York State, but one whose ancestors were originally of the Puritan stock of Massachusetts. His mother, Eliza Ballou was born in New Hampshire. She was a descendant of the Huguenots and her family had fled from France to New England to escape persecution in their native land. It will be

seen from this that Garfield both on his father's and his mother's side was descended from a religious and liberty-loving race. In fact, he took great pride in his ancestry, and delighted in referring to the great struggles for liberty in which they like himself had prominently figured.

Abraham Garfield moved to Ohio in 1830. He settled in a district known as "The Wilderness," and began to make a home for himself and his family in the heart of the forest. He had, however, but a short time to live and at the early age of thirty-three died, leaving a wife and four children. Of these James was the youngest, a mere infant. His mother had now a hard struggle with poverty, but she seems to have been able to give her children a fairly good education. It is said that James was sent to school at the age of three, and that he was able to read at that very early age. Whether this is true or not, he was certainly a precocious child and ever ready to devour any book that fell into his hands. He was an omniverous reader, and in boyhood acquired a habit of reading that only ended with his life. He, however, was forced to help on the farm and to work for farm neighbours in order to aid his mother in her struggle for existence. There were but few books in "The Wilderness," and, like many other men who have achieved power as writers and speakers and politicians, the book with which he was most familiar in his youth was the Bible. His imagination was kindled as a boy by Grimshaw's *Life of Napoleon* and by a volume of tales of the sea. He was an inland lad but the blood of his ancestors was still in his veins and he longed for something of the thrilling experiences that he read about in books dealing with the mighty deep. It was a long way to the

ocean, but not so far to the Great Lakes, and so he journeyed in 1848 to Cleveland with the intention of shipping on one of the lake boats.

But the freight-carriers of the lakes differed from the lordly ships that were in his imagination and he turned from the reality in disgust. It would not do, however, to go back to his Ohio home without having made an effort to do something for himself and so he procured employment on the Ohio and Pennsylvania Canal, driving the slow-gaited mules that towed the heavy barges through the country. He was soon promoted from the tow-path to the barge deck, but if all stories of this period of his life are true, he was far from being an efficient deck-hand. It seems that while at this work he fell into the canal no fewer than fourteen times. On the last occasion he had such a narrow escape from ending his career that he concluded he was never intended to be a bargeman, but that it was foreordained that he should occupy a higher station in life, and so he turned his face homeward. He was still desirous of acquiring an education and in the following winter attended a school at Chester about ten miles from his home. His mother was able to contribute but little towards his education and so in his vacation he worked at the trade of a carpenter which he had acquired, helped in the harvest field, taught school,—did anything with which to gain money to pay for schooling in the winter.

While in Chester he met a sweet country girl, Miss Lucretia Rudolph, who was afterwards to be his partner in the White House. At this time of his life he seems to have developed profoundly the religious side of his nature. He was converted under the instruction of a Campbellite preacher, was baptized and

became a Campbellite. "The Disciples of Christ," although in a sense narrow in their beliefs were not without their attractions for a man of Garfield's Puritan ancestry and liberty-loving nature. Their aim was, according to themselves, to direct their lives by the Scriptures, not bound by any hard and fast canons or creeds but allowing each member to interpret the Scriptures not after the manner of churchmen but according to their simple and natural meaning.

He finished his studies at Chester in 1851 and then entered Hiram College, the principal seat of learning of "The Disciples" in Ohio. He was here a faithful, painstaking student, but not as remarkable in his classes as he was in the prayer-meetings and debating societies. He lived frugally and managed not only to make his expenses, but even to save a little money while in this institution. After three years' residence at Hiram College he felt himself ready to enter any of the celebrated Eastern seats of learning. His thoughts were naturally directed towards Bethany College in West Virginia. It was the College of the "Disciples of Christ." The brilliant leader of his sect was at the head of it; but to the liberty-loving Ohio boy it was not all that could be desired. At this time the question of slavery was beginning to agitate the nation, and in this religious institution as in almost every religious institution in the South, pro-slavery opinions were in vogue. Besides, young Garfield, through his wide reading and his close application to some of the more modern thinkers, felt the need of coming into contact with broader-minded men than he was likely to find in Bethany College. He therefore made up his mind to enter Williams College, which was presided over

at that time by Mark Hopkins. He hoped by thus studying with men of another faith than his own that his sympathies would be broadened and his view of life enlarged.

At this institution he showed his usual diligence and graduated in 1856 with the highest honours, held in the greatest esteem by all from the president downwards. On graduating he returned to Ohio and obtained a position as teacher of Latin and Greek at his old school, Hiram College. His noble religious character, ripe scholarship and fine disciplinarian powers attracted the attention of the authorities and in 1857 he was made President of the college, when only twenty-six years old. He was an able educator in the best sense of the word, entering sympathetically into the lives of his students, and while doing much to give them accurate learning did more to mould them as men. He was still a faithful "Disciple" and while President of Hiram College frequently preached. But his ambition was in neither the line of preaching or teaching. He had broader hopes, and like Lincoln saw that the road to distinction in his country lay through the channel of the law. He had his name entered in a law office in Cleveland but did his studying in Hiram.

During the Kansas-Nebraska debates his youthful and ardent nature was intensely roused by the evils of slavery and in discussions which occurred on this great question he spoke on several occasions with a power and knowledge that attracted a good deal of attention. It brought him prominently before the electors, and in 1859, without soliciting it, he was sent to represent the counties of Summit and Portage in the Senate of Ohio. He took a lively interest in the affairs of his State, earnestly working whenever

occasion demanded it. He felt that war was at hand, the air was heavy with it; and like a wise citizen he began to prepare himself for the inevitable struggle. He read much on military affairs, and thought a good deal more; and when the war cloud broke after the election of Lincoln he was not unprepared to enter the struggle.

In August, 1861, he was appointed by Governor William Dennison, Lieut-Colonel in the 42nd Regiment of Ohio Volunteers. He had a fine set of men under him, many of them his old pupils at Hiram College, all of whom had perfect confidence in their old teacher and showed great readiness to enlist in his regiment. His teacher's methods stood by him in this critical occasion of his life, and he went systematically to work to drill his men and instruct them in military tactics. As a result there were few more efficient volunteers towards the end of 1861 than Garfield's Ohio regiment. In December of that year he reported to General Buell in Louisville, Kentucky, and the General, in a time when soldiers were remarkable for their ignorance of military affairs, was much impressed with the 42nd. He showed his appreciation of the work Garfield had done with this regiment by giving him command of a brigade and assigning him the difficult task of driving the Confederate General Humphrey Marshall from Eastern Kentucky.

Marshall was a man of considerable military experience, a man trained at West Point and thoroughly familiar with military affairs. He had under him, too, five thousand men, while Garfield had barely two thousand. But Garfield had brains and laid his plans with the greatest judgment. He at last forced Marshall to abandon a strong position he had taken

up, leaving large quantities of supplies behind him. He went in hot pursuit of the Confederate general, and with but eleven hundred men overtook him with five thousand men supported by twelve cannon. Capture Marshall he could not with his small force, but he held him in check until reinforced by Generals Granger and Sheldon. At Middle Creek, January 10, 1862, he gained a decisive victory over the Confederate forces.

This victory was a welcome one to the Federals; defeat had darkened their sky and it seemed as if the superior knowledge and experience of the Southern soldiers were likely to make the conflict a very trying one at least at the beginning. General Buell acknowledged the skill with which Garfield had outgeneraled Marshall, and President Lincoln promptly made him a Brigadier-General dating his commission from the battle of Middle Creek.

During his campaign on the Big Sandy his supplies gave out and it looked as though his entire force would have to face starvation. But he was equal to the emergency, and went to the Ohio and seized a steamer loaded with provisions. The river was swollen, swift, and dangerous, and he could get no pilot to undertake to navigate the boat. He was not to be beaten, but taking the helm himself stood at his post for forty-eight hours. His canal boat experience was after all not wasted.

One of the most remarkable performances of his military career was his march on Cumberland Gap. Marshall was there in a strongly entrenched position; a surprise was necessary: Garfield when he learned of the situation of Marshall was one hundred miles from Cumberland Gap, but in four days he hurried his soldiers across this distance in a blinding snow-

storm. There are few better forced marches than this in the history of the war.

He was to have still further war experiences. Kentucky cleared up, he hastened to Shiloh and arrived in time to take part in the second day's fighting, and likewise took part in all the operations in front of Corinth. He was more than a mere soldier: in June he found the bridges on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad broken down and repaired them showing a good deal of engineering skill. He did good work, too, as an engineer on the fortifications of Huntsville. But the war was telling on him, he had never saved himself, and from excessive work and exposure broke down in the summer of 1862.

After recovery from a short illness he was employed on the courts-martial at Washington and proved himself as wise as a judge as he was skilful as a soldier. In February of 1863 he returned to duty under General Rosecrans then in command of the army of the Cumberland. He was appointed chief-of-staff and played a notable part in the battle of Chickamauga, June 24, 1863. The right wing was defeated and the left under General George H. Thomas was in danger. It was necessary that Thomas should know the situation and Garfield, exposing himself to a hot fire, rode to the rescue. This was a lost battle to the Federal troops; but, for his gallant conduct on the day of defeat, Garfield was promoted to the rank of major-general. It seemed as though he was to be one of the great generals of the war, but his brains were needed at Washington. He had been elected fifteen months before to Congress and at the urgent request of Lincoln sacrificed a bright military career to do the more difficult work of aiding in the councils of the nation at the seat of government.

His military career is referred to at some length in that magnificent oration on Garfield delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, February 27, 1882, by his friend and admirer James G. Blaine, —a speech that every student of the life of Garfield should read in its entirety.

"The result of the campaign is a matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energies shown by Garfield, the courage imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero."

He was but thirty-two years old when he entered Congress, but from his experience in the Senate of Ohio, in the army, and through the intense interest he had taken in his country's life he was much older than his years. His work of preparation for his future exalted position went on. He was a good listener and paid the closest attention to all matters relating to the army and frequently spoke to much purpose. At the same time he devoted a good deal of energy to the great questions that a statesman has of necessity to deal with, and financial problems and constitutional affairs occupied much of his time. He saw, too, how his country was reaching out, and, in orde to be able to take part intelligently in international affairs, diligently studied both French and

German. In 1865, at his own request, he was placed on the Ways and Means Committee. He was Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in 1867, and in 1869 held a similar position on a committee on banking and currency. He thus gained a thorough knowledge of every department of the business life of his country, and was being peculiarly fitted to be a business president. In 1877 Mr. Blaine left the House for the Senate and Garfield who was at that time candidate for the Speakership, was the recognized leader of the Republican party in the House.

"There never yet was noble man but made ignoble talk,"—especially if that man be a politician. Garfield was accused of political corruption but on careful investigation he was found to be in no way personally guilty. He had now been some six years in Congress and had attracted a great deal of attention by his political insight and capacity for work. In January, 1880, he was chosen Senator-elect from the State of Ohio. This new honour was to be very soon followed by a greater one.

In June, 1880, the Republican Convention met in Chicago to nominate a successor to Rutherford B. Hayes. Garfield went to this convention in sympathy with the nomination of John Sherman. He was particularly anxious to defeat the friends of General Grant. Grant had not been a particularly brilliant President, and the fact that he was being nominated for a third term was contrary to the best political opinion in America. At this convention the two strong candidates were Grant and Blaine, Grant having 304 votes on the first ballot and Blaine 284. The tedious voting continued, these two men retaining the same relative positions until the thirty-fourth

ballot. All this time some friend or enemy of Garfield's kept dropping in a ballot for him, and so he continued until the thirty-third ballot to have in nearly every case one vote registered on his behalf. On the thirty-fourth ballot much to the surprise of every one he had seventeen votes. The Blaine men saw no hope of electing their candidate, they were determined to defeat General Grant and his henchman Roscoe Conkling at any price, and cast their votes almost in a body for Garfield. The Sherman votes went with them and on the thirty-sixth ballot Garfield had 399 votes and was the choice of the Republican party.

He was a comparatively unknown man and in order to introduce himself to the nation as a whole spoke in his own behalf in many of the leading centres of population. His opponent was General Hancock, but the Democratic leader was far from being a strong man and found a solid phalanx of votes against him in the North. There was really in this campaign but one great issue. Grant it is true in allowing his name to be presented for a third term had expressed a hope that he might be able to close the breach between the North and the South, but this played only a small part in the struggle between Hancock and Garfield. The tariff issue was the great question and Garfield by his superior education and long political training had a decided advantage in the canvass over General Hancock. He was elected by 214 votes to 155, beating Hancock in every Northern State excepting New Jersey, Nevada, and California.

On March 4, 1881, he delivered his inaugural address and entered upon what promised to be a prosperous voyage although the beginning of his presidential career was not without its storms.

He selected his cabinet from men of known experience. They were as follows: James G. Blaine of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General; Thomas L. James, of New York, Postmaster-General; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, Secretary of the Interior; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, Secretary of War; William H. Hunt of Louisiana, Secretary of the Navy.

The determined struggle of Conkling and his men to have Grant reappointed for a third term and their defeat at the Chicago Convention had left them with considerable bitterness in their hearts against the new administration. Garfield made appointments that did not please the Senators. At length he nominated William H. Robertson as Collector of the Port of New York. Robertson was a personal enemy of Conkling's and this appointment brought affairs to a climax. Conkling and his friends in New York stood on the "Courtesy of the Senate;" Garfield, however, would not be dictated to; as a result Conkling and Senator Platt resigned, hoping that by re-election they would give the President a decided snub, but Garfield won; the people admiring a man of integrity and backbone and one who could not be ruled by professional politicians.

In the midst of the discussion over the appointments the nation was to be suddenly plunged into deep grief. Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker, had his brain turned by the abuse hurled at Garfield by his enemies. He looked upon Garfield as a tyrant and determined to assassinate him to make way for Vice-President Arthur.

On July 2, the President was taking a holiday

from the worries of his Washington life. On that day the commencement exercises were being held at his old college, and he was about to attend them with feelings known only to men who truly love their Alma Mater. As James Blaine said, "the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully almost boyishly, happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt, that, after four months of trial, his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favour, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that troubles lay behind him, and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress, from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen."

At such a supreme moment of his life, just as he entered the Washington station with his Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, he was attacked by Guiteau. The first shot missed, but the assassin again took deliberate aim and before either the President or his Secretary could realise what was taking place a ball penetrated his side.

The true strength of the man was now shown.

For nearly three months he was to battle with death, facing it in the end as bravely as ever man did. He sank steadily through the hot and trying weather of the summer, and in September it was felt that his only hope lay in having him moved to the seashore; but it was of no avail, nothing could save him, and on the night of September 19 he passed away. The nation mourned him with a genuine mourning: his sad end; his heroic struggle; the nobility of his entire career had made of him a national hero, and he was almost as deeply mourned as was the saver of the Union, Abraham Lincoln.

His cutting off was indeed sad. His career had been a bright and useful one, but it was in a sense only beginning. Already he was proving himself a great international diplomat and was making his power decidedly felt on the other side of the ocean. The building of the Panama Canal was already exciting the people of his country, and in this connection he was proving himself able and honest both in his interpretation of the Monroe doctrine and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. With regard to the canal he had very wisely said that "it was the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our national interests."

But he had merely begun to initiate action; he had achieved nothing, although he was promising to be as fine a president as the United States had during the century. He will always be judged by his career as a soldier and in Congress. The best work he did was in supporting Lincoln during the great Civil war. Of two things he never had any doubt,—the Union had to be maintained and the curse of slavery had to

be abolished. He had been a brave soldier he was an equally wise and eloquent councillor.

His speech on "The Conflict of Ideas in America" was one of the strongest utterances called forth by the war. He said in that noble effort, "Our War of Independence was a war of ideas, of ideas evolved out of two hundred years of slow and silent growth.... For nearly two centuries there was no serious collision; but when the continent began to fill up and the people began to jostle each other; when the Roundhead and the Cavalier came near enough to measure opinions the irreconcilable character of the two doctrines began to appear" (viz.: that private judgment in politics as well as religion is the right and duty of every man, and that capital should own labour, that the negro had no rights of manhood, and the white man might justly buy, own, and sell him and his offspring forever).. "Over this vast horizon of interest, North and South, above all party prejudices and personal wrong doing, above our battle hosts and our victorious cause, above all that we hoped for and won, or you hoped for and lost, is the grand, onward movement of the Republic to perpetuate its glory, save liberty alive, and preserve exact and equal justice to all, to protect and foster all these priceless principles, until they shall have crystallised into the form of enduring law, and become inwrought into the life and habits of our people."

It was with such noble ideas as these that James A. Garfield entered upon his presidential career. His whole character was without inconsistency. A student of affairs, a man of noble religious character, cultured, and despite his log cabin origin, refined,—he promised to make not only a wise president but to give dignity to the office that it too often lacked.

But it was not to be; fate had decided otherwise, and in the moment of his success, and when he had as it were laid a base for a noble government, and had vanquished his vilifiers and opponents he was struck down. It is hard to think in viewing his assassination that "God's in his heaven, all's right in the world;" but when Lincoln fell Garfield himself said "justice and judgment are the establishment of His throne, mercy and truth shall go before His face! Fellow citizens, God reigns, and the government at Washington lives."

Although he had long taken an interest in politics, he died a poor man. However, the country was generous and raised, for his widow and children, three hundred and sixty thousand dollars. This was but a slight manifestation of the feeling occasioned by his death. Comparatively unknown to the nation, even after his election to the Presidency, during the weeks of his struggle after his assassination his name became a household word and the "martyred President," did much to shape the ideas and feeling of his people.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PRESIDENT CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

(One Administration, 1881–1885.)

Chester A. Arthur, Vice-President of the United States at the time of the assassination of President Garfield, was sworn in as twenty-first President of the United States, September 20, 1881.

President Arthur was born in Fairfield, Franklin County, Vt., October 5, 1830. His father, Rev. William Arthur, a Baptist clergyman, had emigrated from Ireland when eighteen years old. His mother Malvina Stone was a descendant of a New Hampshire pioneer. Young Arthur's parents early decided to give him an education and he was prepared for college at Unionville, at Greenwich, and at Schenectady. In 1845, in his fifteenth year, he entered the sophomore class at Union College. It would seem that it was necessary for him to partially support himself while at college, for, during several terms in his college course he taught school at Schaghticoke, Rensselaer County. He graduated in his nineteenth year and at once began the study of law.

While pursuing his law studies he still continued to teach more or less. He acted as tutor for boys

preparing for college and in 1851, three years after his graduation from Union, was principal of an Academy at North Pownal, Vt. He was, however, too ambitious to remain at teaching, and, in 1853, decided to go to the Mecca of ambitious spirits, New York City. In this year he entered the office of Erastus D. Culver as a student, and before the end of the year was admitted to the Bar. Before settling down in New York he made a journey through the West seeking a good locality in which to practise law; but he was unsuccessful in his search, and returned to New York City and was admitted to the firm of Culver & Parker.

This firm had already gained considerable reputation as an advocate of the anti-slavery movement, and young Arthur became intensely interested in the great question of slavery which was rapidly becoming the all-absorbing one in the political situation. When he entered the firm the celebrated case of the People *v.* Lemmon was agitating not only New York but was causing considerable excitement throughout the whole Union and particularly throughout the South. The case brought prominently before New York the Fugitive Slave Law. One Jonathan Lemmon of Virginia brought eight slaves to New York with the intention of sending them from that place to Texas. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by Judge Elijah Paine with the result that on November 13, 1852, the slaves were set free. The case was appealed by Virginia but Judge Paine's decision was affirmed in 1857 and in 1860 was still further sustained.

The discussions arising out of this celebrated case not only created in Chester Arthur a sympathy for the slaves, but gave him an insight into the evils of

slavery and the probable results which would follow if the institution was allowed to spread to the Free States.

During this same period another question with regard to coloured people was discussed before the courts by his firm. It was a matter of excluding a coloured woman, one Lizzie Jennings, from a street car in New York. Her suit was successful and the right of coloured persons to ride in the city cars was ever afterwards recognised. In both of these trials, Chester Arthur, though the junior member of the firm, took an active part.

At a very early age Mr. Arthur became interested in politics. He was in the beginning a Henry Clay Whig. Although not in a position to take an active part in the election of 1852, he cast his first vote in that year for General Winfield Scott. He was thus in at the death of the Whig party which had grown weak and vacillating. However, he could not see his way clear to join with the Democrats, and was one of the first to recognise the great need of forming a new party with a new name and new principles out of the many diverse elements in the North, which were opposed to the Democracy of the South with its State-rights principles and its pro-slavery attitude. Four years after this when the New York Republican Convention, the first Republican convention to meet in the State, met at Saratoga he was one of the active members. In the election which followed he took an active part on behalf of General Frémont and, though the candidate he supported was defeated by the weak and vacillating Buchanan, he was not slow to recognise that the principles then advanced would yet win in the country.

He had been rapidly growing in favour in New

York, and had made firm friends among some of the leading men. At the beginning of 1861, when war was threatening and when the Southern States were seceding from the Union, Governor Edwin D. Morgan appointed him on his staff as engineer-in-chief with the rank of brigadier-general. Although barely thirty he had not been without military experience, and had assisted in organising the State militia and had been judge-advocate of the Second Brigade. Several months after this appointment the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter, and war was in the land.

Governor Morgan needed a man whom he could trust to get ready and send to the front New York's quota of troops, and so he made Arthur his acting quartermaster-general. This was not his only work in the critical year in which the Civil war began. As engineer-in-chief he had to consider the defenses of New York harbour and the general defenses of the State, and the report he submitted in January, 1862, showed that he had done his work thoroughly and wisely. In February of the same year he was appointed inspector-general and in this capacity went to the army of the Potomac and inspected the New York troops at Fredericksburg and Chickahominy. He remained in office until 1862 when on the election of Horatio Seymour to the governorship of New York he returned to his law practice.

During the two years in which he had been actively engaged in connection with the formation and equipment and inspection of New York's troops he had done his work thoroughly and well. There was, of course, at such a critical moment every opportunity of handling his office for the benefit of himself; but he was above corrupt practices, and at a

time when many of those in authority were reaping a rich harvest from their positions he conducted his department in such a way as to win nothing but praise. His successor as quartermaster-general thus describes his work: "I found on entering on the discharge of my duties, a well organised system of labour and accountability, for which the State is chiefly indebted to my predecessor, General Chester A. Arthur, who by his practical good sense and unremitting exertion, at a period when everything was in confusion, reduced the operations of the department to a matured plan, by which large amounts of money were saved to the government, and great economy of time secured in carrying out the details of the same."

For the remainder of the war he seems to have taken no active part in its affairs but in partnership with Henry G. Gardner devoted himself to his law practice. From 1867 to 1872 he was without a partner but in that year formed the firm of Arthur, Phelps, and Knevals.

While devoting himself to building up an extensive and lucrative business, he did not neglect politics. Indeed, the breath of his life was in political activity, and he was one of the leaders of the Republican party in New York City, occupying several important positions in connection with what might be called the Republican "machine." He put much time and energy into advancing the interests of his party, and was not without his reward, for on November 20, 1871, President Grant appointed him to the important position of Collector of the Port of New York. He did his work in this position at any rate to the thorough satisfaction of the government, and four years later, in 1875, was nominated for another term.

In the campaign of 1876 between Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden, General Arthur worked with great energy for the Republican party. He continued, although holding a government position, to be an active partisan. President Hayes had pronounced against government officials taking part in elections and decided to remove General Arthur from his office and with him Alonzo B. Cornell, Naval Officer in the New York Custom House, another active partisan. They were asked to resign after investigation of the charges made against them, but Arthur refused and the struggle went on. He was, however, suspended on July 11, 1878.

Apparently the only cause for his removal was his active partisanship. He had conducted his office with the same integrity and ability with which he had performed his duty as quartermaster-general to Governor Morgan during the opening years of the war. He was not a man to take dismissal quietly and made an elaborate defence in which he pointed out that he had conducted his office in such a way as to keep his personal character untarnished, and that he had greatly improved the service. He had not, he declared, removed officials except for cause; he had systematically promoted from the lower to the higher grades on the grounds of good conduct and efficiency; when complaints were made he had promptly and thoroughly investigated them and had visited all misconduct with proper punishment. In conclusion he challenged the government to bring forward any instance of a department under the present, or under any past, national administration that had been conducted with greater fairness or honesty. However the administration was sustained and Edwin A. Merritt became Collector in the place of General Arthur

and Silas W. Burt Naval Officer in the place of Mr. Cornell.

General Arthur then resumed his law practice with the firm of Arthur, Phelps, Knevals and Ransom, but continued to take much more interest in politics than in law. He was a delegate at large to the Republican National Convention that met at Chicago in June, 1880. He advocated the nomination of General Grant as a successor to President Hayes, despite the fact that Grant had already occupied the Presidential chair for two terms. But the feeling against a third term was too strong at the convention, and the anti-third term men succeeded in defeating the supporters of Grant and nominating for the Presidency General Garfield. During the heated contest that had taken place there was no more active member of the convention than Arthur, and, although a strong supporter of Grant, acquiesced in the results of the balloting and did not a little to keep the Republican party a unit. The next matter for consideration was the Vice-Presidency. The New York men had been the strongest supporters of Grant and it was felt that the anti-third term should be generous and nominate for the Vice-Presidency a supporter of Grant and a resident of New York State. General Arthur had made himself so popular at the convention that, although almost totally unknown to the country at large he received on the first ballot 468 votes against 283 for the other candidates. His nomination was then made unanimous.

It is impossible in considering this nomination not to feel that the people of the United States treat too lightly the great office of Vice-President. Three times in the last thirty-six years presidents have been cut off in the initial months of the Presidential term

by the hand of the assassin, and the country has had to face an entire term with the second in command at the head of affairs. In the face of such exigencies as these there ought to be as much care taken in the selection of a vice-president as of a president, and no more unwise step could be taken than to select a man who was in many ways an opponent of the President. In a country where trade and commerce is so influenced by the man at the head of the government, it is essential that in the case of the unexpected removal of the President the policy he has inaugurated should remain in force, and, for the most part, the men he has selected as his cabinet should continue in office. At the present moment the stability of the United States and the unshaken prosperity that continues within her borders is largely due to the fact that President Roosevelt is on the vital questions of the hour at one with his predecessor who was so recently slain in Buffalo.

General Arthur was not the choice of the great Republican party of the United States, but of the members of the convention who were won by his plausible manners and the discretion he showed in the difficult situation which presented itself at the convention. However, he proved himself thoroughly familiar with the great issues of the hour, and when he accepted the nomination pronounced himself at one with the Garfield platform. He would protect the coloured citizens who had lately been enfranchised; he approved of reforms in the public service and in this matter took his stand on very much the same ground as Hayes; he pronounced in favour of a sound currency, of popular education, and of tariff laws that would enable the manufacturers and artisans of the United States to compete successfully

with those of other lands; he advocated the nation undertaking internal improvement, the development of the water courses and harbours. When he came to the Presidency he proved that these were no idle words, and carried out his pledges made as Vice-President to the letter.

At the election which followed in November, Garfield and Arthur were successful, and took office on the Fourth of March, 1881. They were scarcely comfortably settled in the Capital before serious complications arose. William H. Robertson had been the leader of the anti-third term men at the Chicago convention and very naturally roused the animosity of Roscoe Conkling and the other supporters of General Grant for a third term. In spite of this fact President Garfield had the bad tact to nominate him for Collector of the Port of New York. This, as has already been pointed out in dealing with the life of Garfield, roused the Senators of New York to an intense pitch of indignation. Vice-President Arthur might have remained neutral at this time, but he had been nominated by Roscoe Conkling and felt himself in duty bound to stand by his friend. He signed along with others a remonstrance addressed to the President condemning the nomination of Robertson; but Garfield would not be moved. Arthur went further than this; when Senators Conkling and Platt resigned to test the matter before the country the Vice-President went to Albany and did all in his power to have his friends re-elected to the Senate.

While this matter was still exciting the country Garfield was shot and Vice-President Arthur suddenly found himself elevated to the Presidency.

When news of the assassination was spread throughout the country and when it was believed that

the President could not recover, there was considerable doubt as to Arthur's fitness for the office. He was for one thing an untried statesman, although he had been an active politician. Guiteau's brain, too, had been more or less turned by the heated discussion which took place during the Conkling quarrel, and as Conkling and his friends were, by the unreasoning crowd, to some extent blamed for the assassination of the President, the Vice-President was held by the fanatical adherents of Garfield to be in a way responsible for the deed. Arthur, too, had throughout the early part of his life been an advocate of the "machine" in politics, and had so far opposed civil service reform as to cause his own removal from office under Hayes. All these things created a feeling of very great uncertainty as to what kind of a President he would make. However, during the weeks that his President fought bravely with death, by his devotion, self-sacrifice, and genuine grief he did much to win the confidence of the nation.

When Garfield died on September 19, the cabinet, as in the case of Lincoln's cabinet, announced his death to the Vice-President and the oath was administered to him at his home in New York by Judge John R. Brady. Two days later Chief Justice Waite formally administered the oath in the President's room in the Capitol at Washington, and Chester Alan Arthur officially became President of the United States.

His action towards Garfield during the past six weeks had done much to make the people forget that he had unwisely taken sides against his President in the first months of the administration, and now his inaugural address, in which he rose to the occasion and to the dignity of the high office to which he was

elevated, set most minds at rest. On this important occasion he said:

"For the fourth time in the history of the Republic its chief magistrate has been removed by death. All hearts are filled with grief and horror at the hideous crime which has darkened our land, and the memory of the murdered President, his protracted sufferings, his unyielding fortitude, the example and achievements of his life and the pathos of his death will forever illumine the pages of our history.

"For the fourth time the officer elected by the people and ordained by the Constitution to fill a vacancy so created is called to assume the Executive chair. The wisdom of our fathers foreseeing the most dire possibilities, made sure that the government should never be imperilled because of the uncertainty of human life. Men may die but the fabric of our free institutions remains unshaken. No higher or more assuring proof could exist of the strength and permanence of popular government than the fact that though the chosen of the people be struck down, his constitutional successor is peacefully installed without shock or strain, except that of the sorrow which mourns the bereavement. All the noble aspirations of my lamented predecessor, which found expression during his life, the measures devised and suggested during his brief administration to correct abuses, to enforce economy, to advance prosperity, to promote the general welfare, to insure domestic security and maintain friendly and honourable relation with the nations of the earth, will be garnered in the hearts of the people and it will be my earnest endeavour to profit and to see that the nation shall profit by his example and experience.

"Prosperity blesses our country. Our fiscal policy

as fixed by law is well grounded and generally approved. No threatening issue mars our foreign intercourse and the wisdom, integrity, and thrift of our people may be trusted to continue undisturbed the present career of peace, tranquillity, and welfare. The gloom and anxiety which have enshrouded the country must make repose especially welcome now. No demand for speedy legislation has been heard; no adequate occasion is apparent for an unusual session of Congress. The Constitution defines the functions and powers of the Executive as clearly as those of either of the other two departments of the government, and he must answer for the just exercise of the discretion it permits and the performance of the duties it imposes. Summoned to these high duties and responsibilities, and profoundly conscious of their magnitude and gravity, I assume the trust imposed by the Constitution, relying for aid on divine guidance and on the virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people."

Although President Arthur was without experience either in national politics or in international affairs he was to make an excellent President, if a somewhat colourless one. He began his administration well. In October he took part in the dedication of the monument erected at Yorktown, Va., to commemorate the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. On this occasion he went out of his way to speak in glowing terms of Great Britain and paid a high compliment to "the illustrious sovereign and gracious lady who sits upon the British throne." President Arthur recognised that the prosperity of the United States largely depended upon her friendship with England, and it was a stroke of good policy to take the occasion of the dedication of this monument to show that it

was done in no spirit of boastful triumph over the motherland.

In the meantime he had had the serious matter of his cabinet to consider. When he became President the cabinet ministers who had been appointed by President Garfield resigned, but President Arthur requested them to retain their offices until Congress should meet in December. All acquiesced with the exception of Secretary Windom who resigned on October 24. President Arthur nominated his friend of the war period, Edwin D. Morgan as Secretary of the Treasury, but Mr. Morgan declined the appointment and Charles J. Folger of New York, finally became Secretary of the Treasury. During the Presidency of General Arthur the following ministers occupied the different departments: "Secretary of State, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen; Secretary of the Treasury, Walter Q. Gresham; Hugh McCulloch; Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln; Secretary of the Navy, William E. Chandler; Secretary of the Interior, Henry M. Teller; Attorney-General, Benjamin H. Brewster; Postmaster-General, Timothy O. Howe; Walter Q. Gresham; Frank Hattan. Robert T. Lincoln was the only member of this cabinet who had served under Garfield, and he continued in the cabinet till the end of Arthur's presidential career.

In 1879, war broke out between Chili and the allied states of Peru and Bolivia. Although the armies opposed were comparatively small, the struggle had been a bloody and costly one. On account of the coast line it was chiefly a naval contest in which Chili at first had the disadvantage, but after the capture of the Peruvian warship "Huascar" the tide turned in her favour. An effort was made on the

part of the United States to bring the war to a conclusion and after the fall of Lima special envoys were sent to both Chili and Peru in 1882, but accomplished nothing, and at the end of the year the situation remained unchanged. However, in 1883, the war was brought to a conclusion. The efforts of the United States at this time were of a somewhat paternal nature and showed that she was not only asserting the Monroe Doctrine so far as the non-interference of the European powers in American affairs was concerned, but that she looked upon herself as the dominant republic which had laid upon her the duty of looking after the interests of the other struggling nations on the American continents.

Shortly after President Arthur came into power an effort was made under his direction to establish commercial treaties between the United States and the other countries of America. A treaty was made with Mexico and this treaty was ratified by the Senate in 1884; but similar treaties with Santo Domingo, and with Spain relative to the trade of Cuba and Porto Rico were laid over until President Cleveland came into office.

The French under De Lesseps were at this time busily prosecuting the work on the Panama Canal, and an Isthmian Canal very naturally attracted the attention of the United States, which would be the country to benefit most by such a project. As a result of the agitation in regard to the canal the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was much in evidence, and the attitude of England in regard to this treaty no doubt had not a little to do with preventing the American people from undertaking the project of constructing the canal. However, the agitation was not without force, and on December 1, 1884, a treaty

was made with Nicaragua authorising the United States to construct the canal, railway, and telegraph line across Nicaragua territory by way of San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua. The time was not ripe for such a project, however, and it was not until the French Company which had in hand the construction of the Panama Canal had hopelessly failed and the century had closed that the United States made serious preparations to begin the vast and necessary project of a canal.

For some years the Chinese, who found in America an excellent market for their labour, flocked into the country in such numbers as to become a serious menace to civilisation on the Pacific Coast, and were indeed considered by many a nuisance even in the Eastern cities. To check this immigration a bill was passed by Congress prohibiting the importation of Chinese labourers for a term of twenty years. This bill violated a treaty made with China in 1880, which permitted the limitation or suspension of immigration but not absolute prohibition, and the President felt constrained to veto the bill. As his course was looked upon by the Senate as mere justice to the Chinese his veto was sustained. However, it was necessary to do something to check the nuisance and a bill suspending immigration for ten years was successfully carried through both Houses and received the President's sanction.

Perhaps the most important work done during this Presidential term, the most far-reaching in its consequence, was the construction of modern warships. In the War of 1812 the United States with her splendid models of sailing ships had been able to defeat the best ships of England, and for the first time since the reign of Elizabeth England's commanders

were frequently forced to lower their colours to a superior enemy. There was during the Civil war some attempt made at the construction of a navy, but it was not of a character that could have competed with the navies of Europe, and since the war little or nothing had been done to place the vessels of the United States on a fighting basis. She was gradually taking a position in the world which demanded that she should have vessels capable of enforcing her rights on the powers with which she had dealings. For instance, she had become a kind of foster-parent to the South-American Republics, and at any time she might be compelled to send a strong fleet to South American waters to protect her interests there. She had likewise become a decided factor in the far East and her trade and influence with both China and Japan were rapidly growing. The ships with which Commodore Perry had been able to frighten Japan into opening her ports would be of small use in a modern naval battle and yet her vessels had improved but little since the days of Perry. But what was of greater importance, was that Spain was at her door, possessing what was supposed to be a fairly strong fleet. To the far-seeing ones sooner or later war with Spain was inevitable, and as the centre of war would be about Cuba and Porto Rico it was very necessary that ships, modern ships, should be constructed. Moreover her merchants were sending her goods to all lands and her missionaries were going to the farthest corners of the earth. They were the advanced guard of peace and civilisation, but to make their work effective it was very necessary that they should be supported by fleet and strong ships and by modern guns.

President Arthur saw the need of a new navy and

strongly advised the adoption of a forward policy in this direction. There were a number of old wooden ships still in commission, which from time to time were patched up and painted but now the order was issued that no further improvement should be made on them. It was likewise decided to begin within the country, the construction of both steel ships and guns. As a result of this policy the cruisers "Chicago," "Boston," and "Atlantic" were built in American workshops and before the end of President Arthur's term the shipyards of the country resounded with the clink of the hammer as cruisers, monitors, and gunboats were being constructed. It was this work that enabled the United States to meet Spain on the high seas, to crush her fleet in Manila Bay and to utterly destroy her navy as Cervera stole out of Santiago harbour. This policy did an even greater work within the country. It established firmly the great shipbuilding industries, and the great gun foundries that were to place the United States in the forefront of the steel producing countries of the world, and by this means did not a little to foster the growth of industries that favourably compete with the long-established ones of England and the Continent.

It will be remembered that when General Arthur was engineer-in-chief to Governor Morgan of New York State, during the first years of the war, he had to thoroughly investigate the military condition of the coast and had in 1862 made an elaborate report on coast defence. Through this work he was more or less familiar with the needs of his country in this regard as a whole, and from his war experiences recognised how defenceless the United States would be if attacked by any of the Powers. He therefore

repeatedly called the attention of Congress to the need of protecting his country's shores with modern forts and modern guns. Liberal expenditure was made, and, largely through his efforts, on March 3, 1885, it was recommended by a fortification board that the sum of $126,377,800 be expended in the matter of fortifications.

During this time, too, tariff reform was a prominent issue,—from a political point of view, the most prominent. President Arthur in dealing with the matter sounded the note which was to be the note of the Republican presidents for the remainder of the century. In reforming the tariff the most necessary thing to consider was, would the changes made aid and protect the American labourer and manufacturer. However, it was not until the Presidency of William McKinley that a high protective tariff became the policy of the nation both among Democrats and Republicans.

Attention was likewise given during this term to improving the navigation of the great waterway of the heart of the continent, the Mississippi, and about $10,000,000 was expended for permanent improvements and for the relief of those who had suffered by the great floods which annually destroy much property, and are the occasion at times of great loss of life.

Another very far-reaching reform was the reduction of letter postage to two cents. This, while not seriously affecting the revenue, had the effect of increasing the amount of correspondence and drawing the different parts of the nation in a way closer together. It had another effect; the attention of the sister nation—if it can be called a nation—Canada, was called to the same matter, and there was

much agitation for the reduction of postage. It was not, however, until a strong wave of imperial feeling swept the country that the government of Canada decided to follow the example of her great sister, and entered into negotiation with the British government to have penny postage for the Empire. This step, due largely to the example of the United States, did much to unify the widely scattered Empire. Shortly after the penny postage was established for the Empire, Canada reduced her internal postage from three to two cents for letters.

During his entire public career General Arthur had had his attention called to the need of civil service reform. He had himself been suspended from office by President Hayes on account of what the President considered unbecoming conduct on the part of a public servant. Again, at the time of the Garfield-Conkling quarrel over the appointment of Mr. Robertson as Collector for the Port of New York, he had again taken his stand with the "machine," but now that he was President he felt the need of putting forth some special effort to "regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," and although the people never had any very great confidence in his efforts to improve the civil service, during his entire term as President he did much to assist the heads of the departments in improving the service.

There were several other occurrences of importance during this term. A polar relief expedition was fitted out under Commander Schley for the purpose of rescuing Lieutenant Greely. The "Thetis," "Bear," and "Alert," sailed northward to Lady Franklin bay in the Arctic regions and at Cape Sabine found the Lieutenant and seven survivors of

his crew. Seventeen members of the expedition had perished. It was, too, while Arthur was President that Brooklyn bridge which had been in course of construction for some years was opened.

His very last act as President was to sign the bill placing General Grant on the retired list. Afterwards as ex-President he was appointed chairman of the committee to collect funds for the national monument to the memory of this great soldier.

It has been said that President Arthur was fortunate in having no great issues to consider; in a sense this is true. Had a great international complication arisen or had he been forced to grapple with such a situation as was occasioned by the Civil war, or later by the Spanish-American war, it is doubtful if he had the qualities that would have given the nation confidence at such crises. However, the work which came to his hand to do was done well and the nation prospered under his rule.

It is noteworthy that practically all the great questions that have since agitated the nation were dealt with by Arthur in their initial stages; tariff reform, civil service reform, the Chinese question, the modern naval policy of the country, the coast defence and the attitude of the United States to the South American Republics came up during his administration. His term as President may fitly be considered the link between the reconstruction period after the war and the modern period of rapid growth which was to continue until the twentieth century.

While the people on the whole never looked upon him as a great president, and were unable to forget his early civil service attitude and the position he took in the Garfield-Conkling quarrel, they could not but recognise that he had greatly improved in office;

many indeed believed him to be the strongest man in the Republican party and were in favour of nominating him for the Presidency. At the Chicago Republican Convention which met June 3, 1884, on the first ballot he received over half the votes, but was in the end defeated by James G. Blaine, to whom during the campaign which followed he gave his "earnest and cordial support."

When he laid down his office he returned to the practice of law in New York City. He had, however, but a short time to live, and, in 1886, on November 18, died suddenly at his residence on Lexington Avenue from cerebral apoplexy and was buried at Albany, New York. His wife, Ellen Lewis Herndon, a daughter of Commander William Lewis Herndon of the United States Navy had died eight years before, January 12, 1880.

CHAPTER XIX.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND.

(Two Administrations, 1885–1889, 1893–1897.)

For twenty-four years the Republican party had held sway over the destinies of the country. With the retirement from office of the weakling Buchanan the Democratic party which had been the most powerful factor in American politics from the beginning of the century was hurled from office, and it looked as if the Democrats would not recover power until the generation which had fought for slavery and secession had passed away. But a man had arisen in New York State finely representative of the modern Democratic spirit, and although never having strongly identified himself with either of the great political parties he was chosen to fill the Presidential chair. This man was Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York State—a man who had so far made no brilliant speeches, written no great books, and led no armies into battle. He had proved himself a man of immense business capacity, honest, and with a stern sense of duty. The times demanded such a man. Long tenure of office had permitted great political corruption to find a home at Washington, and the people of the Union felt that

"it was time for a change." A Democrat with a war record against the Union or one of the Buchanan type, pretending neutrality, would never have been elected. A wise selection was made in choosing a man, no striking partisan, of proved business capacity and of clean hands.

Stephen Grover Cleveland, twenty-second President of the United States, was born at the little village of Caldwell, Essex County, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. It is difficult to get information about his ancestors, but a few important facts have been discovered. In the first place the Clevelands were no late comers to America, but are almost as old as Massachusetts. One Moses Cleveland left Ipswich in the county of Suffolk in the year 1635. Why he left England is not known, but as the Clevelands have ever been a religious family it may have been that he came to New England, where he settled at Woburn, Massachusetts, on account of the social and religious oppression of the Puritans by the Stuarts. He left a numerous progeny, and from the Christian names of his descendants it can be inferred that Grover Cleveland came of a long line of sturdy New England Puritans. One of his ancestors, Aaron Cleveland, was a prominent anti-slavery Republican at the end of the eighteenth century, and was a man of considerable literary and oratorical power, coupled with great business capacity. It is no doubt from him that Grover Cleveland inherited much of his natural genius. His ancestors, too, were many of them connected with the church, or rather with religion, for the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, the Congregationalist churches all have had Clevelands as clergymen or deacons. His grandfather was William Cleveland, a silversmith by trade. This

man was a deacon in the Congregational church for twenty-five years.

The second son of William Cleveland was Richard Falley, the father of Grover Cleveland. He was born in Norwich in 1804. At the early age of sixteen he entered Yale College and was a faithful and brilliant student, graduating in 1824 with high honours. He began work as a tutor in Baltimore, and there met Anne Neal the daughter of a publisher and merchant. He had decided to enter the ministry and soon after meeting Miss Neal left Baltimore for the Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1829, he was ordained and returned to claim the hand of the "sweet Southern girl" whose heart was still true to him. In all nine children were born to them, of whom Stephen Grover was the fifth. It is worthy of note that the first Democratic president after the great Civil war, the man who was to do so much to allay the bitterness that still existed between the North and the South, was on his father's side a Northerner and on his mother's possessed of Southern sympathies.

The young couple seemed to have been moved about a good deal during the first years of their married life. Richard Falley Cleveland's first charge was in Windham, Connecticut; his second at Portsmouth, Virginia; and his third at Caldwell, New Jersey. One Stephen Grover had been his immediate predecessor in this latter charge, and out of respect for his memory he christened his boy, born in the parsonage, after him. He had not yet found a permanent home, and, in 1841, moved from Caldwell to Fayetteville, a quaint, sleepy village near Syracuse, and from this year Grover Cleveland's

life has been identified with the State of New York.

The future president began his school life in Fayetteville, and was an apt, ambitious student, showing a particular liking for literature and the languages. The Clevelands had begun to look upon Fayetteville as home, when, in 1848, the father, whose health was not good, had an opportunity of accepting a home mission position and moved his family to Clinton in Oneida County. This was an advantageous move for his sons, and while here William, who was intended for the church, completed his college course, and Grover had the advantage of a good preparatory school for several years. When he was almost ready for college his father, who no doubt felt the education of nine children, four boys and five girls, a burden, advised him to try a year or two at business, and he returned to his old home at Fayetteville and entered the employ of a Deacon McViccar, who kept a general store. He worked here for a year for the magnificent salary of fifty dollars and had entered upon his second year at a salary of one hundred dollars. A President of the United States trained in a grocery store! It may not at first seem that such a place could have had much influence on his career. It must be remembered, however, that President Cleveland's strength lay in the power of application, in his business methods, and in his integrity; and the business training he received under Deacon McViccar may have done much to give him his bent. After all the village store is a microcosm of the United States. The States of the Union are but departments in the greatest commercial concern in the world.

Despite the large family the father had to provide for he still hoped to give Grover a college education, and, just when the lad entered on his second year in the Fayetteville grocery store, called him home to Clinton to go on with his studies. His father was evidently a man of great courage, for at the time when he thus prepared to make sacrifices for his son he was in very poor health. He had grown weary of home mission work, and accepted a call to a church at Holland Patent, a little hamlet twelve miles north of Utica; but he was to enjoy his new charge for only a short time. In a month after moving from Clinton he died suddenly, and the Clevelands were left without the bread winner. No college for Grover now! He must energetically brace himself to bear the buffets of the world, and to help provide for his mother and sisters and to assist in educating the younger children.

His elder brother William was at this time an instructor in the Institution for the Blind in New York, and Grover received a position in the same institution as book-keeper and assistant teacher. He remained here a year, but saw no hope in the East of a future, and so decided to journey westward. He had not been able to save much while employed in New York, and, in order to strike out for himself, was forced to borrow money. A friend of his father's the Honourable Ingram Townsend, loaned him twenty-five dollars to help him on his way. It was not until twelve years afterwards that he returned the money. His letter with regard to the loan is well worth quoting;

"January 23, 1867.

"I am now in a condition to pay my note which you hold, given for money borrowed some years ago.

I suppose I might have paid it long ago, but I never thought you were in need of it, and I had other purposes for my money. I have forgotten the date of the note. If you will send me it I will mail you the principal and interest. The loan you made me was my start in life, and I shall always preserve the note as an interesting reminder of your kindness. Let me hear from you soon. With many kind wishes to Mrs. Townsend and your family,

"I am, yours very respectfully,

GROVER CLEVELAND."

A thoroughly matter of fact note this; but it shows that there were two sides to young Cleveland's character. He was not without sentiment, and his determination to preserve the note proves him something more than a mere methodical, upright, unbending governing machine, as so many have supposed him.

In 1855, in his eighteenth year, he set his face westward. Before cutting himself off from his Eastern connections, like a dutiful son, he visited his mother at Holland Patent to say farewell and to receive her blessing. He walked the streets of Syracuse and Utica for days in a vain search for work. Farther west he would go and turned his feet towards Cleveland, Ohio, attracted, it is said, by the name. He had an uncle, a Mr. Lewis F. Allen, living at Black Rock, now a part of Buffalo, and to this place he journeyed. Here he found a goal and his life became identified with the life of that thriving city of New York State.

His uncle was a breeder of short-horns, and in his leisure moments was at work on a descriptive catalogue called the *American Short-Horn Herd Book*. He saw that his nephew had more than ordinary

ability, and persuaded him to give up his design of going to Cleveland, and to stay at Black Rock and help him with his book. For six weeks he laboured industriously on one of the volumes, and for his services received sixty dollars. He assisted on further volumes of this work, and Mr. Allen in his preface to his sixth volume makes mention of his services.

His uncle knew that he was ambitious to become a lawyer, and while his nephew was busy with his short-horn herd book kept looking about for an opening in some of the Buffalo legal firms, and when Grover had completed the task allotted him, and was thinking once more about travelling westward his uncle told him that he had secured him a position as clerk and copyist in the law firm of Rogers, Bowen and Rogers. He was now at congenial work, and in his eighteenth year began the tasks which were to lead him to the White House. But for that short-horn herd book he would probably never have attained the Presidency of the United States. It was the peculiar life of New York State which trained him for that exalted position, and his destiny might have been entirely changed had be become identified with the West, certainly his chances for a great career would have been greatly lessened.

He was an industrious student, taking positive delight in devouring Blackstone, and in 1859 was admitted to the Bar. He still remained with the firm, however, and was soon in receipt of a salary of $1,000 a year. Meanwhile he was not forgetful of his mother, brothers, and sisters, and even in his student days had sent part of his earnings to help provide for them.

In 1863, he was appointed assistant district-attorney of Erie County, and thus for the first time came

before the public eye. He proved himself an efficient officer. He displayed at this time the qualities of uprightness and industry which were to distinguish his presidential career. When but twenty-eight years old he was, although no active partisan, selected as the Democratic candidate for the office of district-attorney, but was defeated by the Republican candidate, Mr. Lyman K. Bass.

Meanwhile the great Civil war had been fought and he had been apparently neutral. He was the first man drafted in Buffalo, but at once borrowed money and sent a substitute to the war. When he came prominently before the public his action at this critical period in his country's history gave his enemies an opportunity of making capital against him. He endured their abuse with his usual unruffled calmness. He had acted conscientiously and with noble purpose. Two of his brothers, Richard Cecil, born in 1835, and Lewis Frederick, born in 1841, were both fighting for the Union, and this left his mother and sisters largely dependent on him for support. His first duty was towards them, and the glory of arms could not draw him aside from it; unable to fight he refrained from talking about the war, but he was thoroughly in sympathy with the Union.

In 1866 he entered into a law partnership with J. K. Vanderpool, and in 1869 became a member of the firm of Laning, Cleveland, and Folsom. The following year he was elected sheriff of Erie county, and after three years of faithful service formed a new law partnership with Lyman K. Bass and Wilson S. Bissell. Mr. Bass's health failed him and the firm then became Cleveland and Bissell. He was now of ripe years, with considerable experience, and recognised as one of the ablest lawyers in the West. "His

jury and bench trials were distinguished by clear views, direct, simple logic, and a thorough mastery of all the intricacies of the cases, and his invariable avoidance of extrinsic issues and purely technical devices secured for him the respect of his own profession and the admiration of the public."

Until 1881 his reputation grew, and then he was to be suddenly brought prominently before the nation as a man of exceptional powers. The government of Buffalo, like the government of the majority of the great corporations of the United States, was thoroughly corrupt; ring-rule and the ward politicians ran the city. The best elements desired a change, and the Democrats selected Grover Cleveland as their candidate for Mayor. His sterling character attracted to his side many prominent Republicans. He had said at the convention at which he was nominated, "let us then in all sincerity promise the people an improvement in our municipal affairs; and if the opportunity is offered to us, as it surely will be, let us faithfully keep that promise." The people of Buffalo knew the man and believed in him, and elected him with a majority of 3,500 votes.

In his inaugural message he very clearly laid down the principles on which he intended to act as mayor; and they are identical with his principles as President —and these principles he maintained to the letter.

"We hold," he said, "the money of the people in our hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds with which the taxpayers have thus entrusted us are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that

extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is being trusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumed that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the taxpayers than that which should regulate his conduct, when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbour.

"It seems to me that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit; that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account of them, touching the manner of their expenditures; and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principle as a good business man manages his private concerns."

He took office on January 1, 1882, and soon earned for himself the name of "veto-mayor." Public funds were being squandered; the council was letting contracts for public works at a ridiculously high figure. The new mayor looked carefully into every contract, and unhesitatingly vetoed awards that seemed to him to be iniquitous, and through him, on two items alone, a street-cleaning contract and a sewer-contract, the corporation saved nearly one million dollars.

His message to the council on the street-cleaning contract, known as the "Plain Speech Veto" is a courageous denunciation of corrupt methods of conducting public affairs. It has often been a matter of wonder how an unknown lawyer of one of the least among the great cities of the United States could have risen so rapidly to the first place in the nation. This

speech gives the reason. From the hour he uttered it he was a marked man; honest, able, fearless,—just the man to stem the rising tide of corruption at Washington.

"The bid thus accepted by your honourable body is more than one hundred thousand dollars higher than that of another perfectly responsible party for the same work; and a worse and more suspicious feature in the transaction is that the bid now accepted is fifty thousand dollars more than that made by Talbot" (the contractor) "himself within a very few weeks, openly and publicly, to your honourable body, for performing precisely the same services. This latter circumstance is, to my mind, the manifestation on the part of the contractor of a reliance upon the forbearance and generosity of your honourable body, which would be more creditable if it were less expensive to the taxpayers.

"I am not aware that any excuse is offered for the acceptance of this proposal thus increased, except the very flimsy ones that the lower bidders cannot afford to do the work for the sums they named. This extreme tenderness and consideration for those who desire to contract for the city, and this touching and paternal solicitude lest they should be improvidently led into a bad bargain, is, I am sure, an exception to general business rules, and seems to have no place in the selfish, sordid world, except as found in the administration of municipal affairs.

"The charter of your city requires that the mayor, when he disapproves any resolution of your honourable body shall return the same with his objections.

"This is a time for plain speech and my objection to the action of your honourable body now under consideration shall be plainly stated. I withhold my

assent from the same, because I regard it as the culmination of a most bare-faced, impudent, and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people and to worse than squander the public money.

"I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given for this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of wilful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences both in and about your honourable body, which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care.

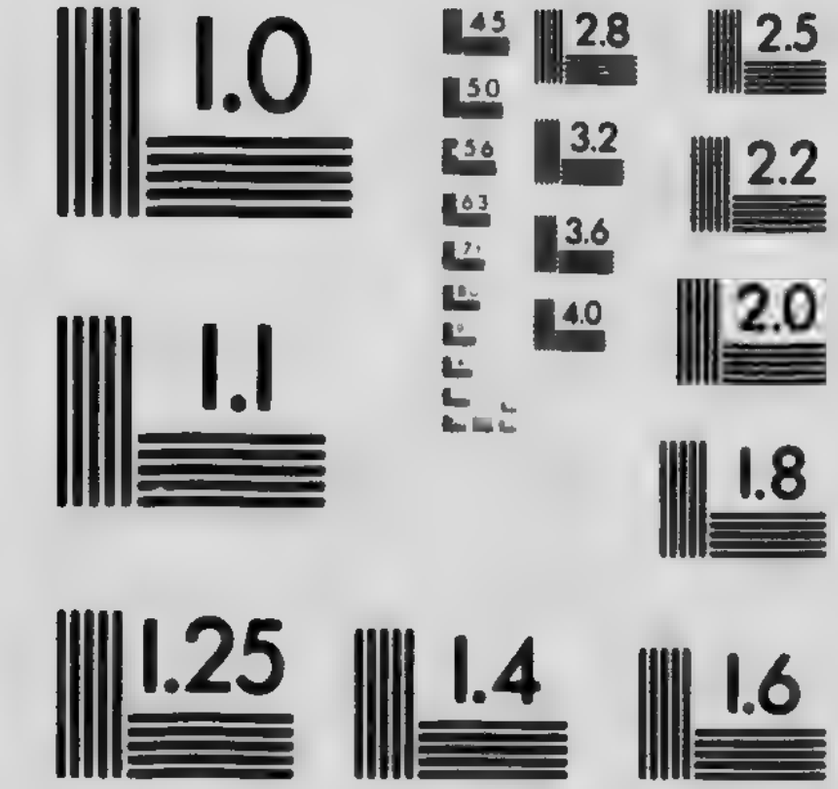
"When cool judgment rules the hour, the people will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your honourable body. But clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at nought sometimes deceives and leads honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes, which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence.

"If the scandal in connection with this street-cleaning contract which has so aroused our citizens, shall cause them to select and watch with more care those to whom they entrust their interests, and if it serves to make all of us who are charged with official duties more careful in their performance it will not be an unmitigated evil.

"We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people either in or out of your honourable body are against them, and should be treated accordingly."

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

One other act while he held the mayoralty is even more noteworthy. The city council had passed the following resolution: "That the city clerk, be, and he is hereby directed to draw a warrant on the 4th of July fund for five hundred dollars to the order of J. S. Edwards, Chairman of the Decoration Day Committee of the Grand Army of the Republic, for the purpose of defraying the expenses attending a proper observance of Decoration Day."

He determined to veto this resolution. Such a grant was contrary to the State constitution. His step at this time must have caused him no small struggle. He was, as Whittle says, "presiding over a great Northern community, and was a member of the party who had been the political allies of the men who had fought the Grand Army of the Republic. His action would be misinterpreted by the extreme Republicans and his political enemies would use it against him." But it mattered not to him, he was "constant as the northern star" in his determination to do right and to abide by the constitution.

In vetoing the resolution, he said: "I deem the object of this appropriation a most worthy one. The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades certainly deserves the aid and encouragement of their fellow-citizens. We should all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose. And I should be much disappointed if an appeal to our citizens for voluntary subscriptions for this patriotic object should be in vain.

"But the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and taxpayers, and should not be extorted from them by taxation. This is so, because the purpose for which this money is asked does not

involve their protection or interest as members of the community, and it may or may not be approved by them.

"The people are forced to pay taxes into the city treasury only upon the theory that such money shall be expended for public purposes, or purposes in which they all have a direct and practical interest.

"The logic of this position leads directly to the conclusion that, if the people are forced to pay their money into the public fund and it is spent by their servants and agents for purposes in which the people as taxpayers have no interest, the exaction of such taxes from them is oppressive and unjust.

"I cannot rid myself of the idea that this city government, in its relation to the taxpayers, is a business establishment, and that it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles."

There lies the secret of his success. He was a business mayor,—the people of New York State recognised that and they chose him for Governor; he was a business governor,—the people of the United States recognised him as such and they elected him President. He was the embodiment of the spirit of push and enterprise that dominated the nation.

He was something more than that, however. In a speech delivered on July 3, 1882, when Buffalo was holding its semi-centennial celebration he said: "But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbour and our God." Again in September of the same year when laying the corner stone of the Young Men's Christian Association Building he remarked: "Good and pure government lies at the foundation of the wealth and progress of every nation." We have here the loftiest ideals; the Puritan blood in his veins made moral rectitude go hand in hand with business acuteness.

CHAPTER XX.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND (*Continued*).

In 1882 the Republican Party brought forward as a candidate for the governorship of New York State, Mr. Charles J. Folger. The governor for the previous term, Mr. Cornell, had not proved himself as plastic in the hands of the professional politicians as they would like, and they concluded to prevent his renomination for office. Mr. Folger was selected as he was known to be a strong partisan and at the same time a man of flawless character. At the time of his nomination he was Secretary of the Treasury to President Arthur and his introduction into State affairs was to many an evidence that the Federal politicians were endeavouring to run the State along Federal lines. There was at this time in the Federal government a great deal of corruption and many of the best men in New York State feared that the election of Mr. Folger would mean even greater corruption in the State than was at that time existing.

The Democratic party took advantage of the peculiar situation to select a man who was no active politician, one on whom the Democrats could unite with the best element in the Republican party. Several prominent Democrats such as Roswell B. Flower and General B. Slocum were much spoken about, but

they were both pronounced Democrats, active politicians, for whom it would be difficult to secure any part of the Republican vote of the State.

At this juncture the name of Grover Cleveland, Mayor of Buffalo, was brought forward. The splendid manner in which he had conducted the affairs of his city, his integrity of purpose, his fearlessness, his opposition to every form of corruption, his earnestness in the direction of Civil Service Reform and his freedom from partisan bias, had all given him something more than a local reputation. Indeed, the good work he had done in Buffalo had made him favourably known to the nation. At first, he was merely spoken about as the future governor among his Buffalo friends, but as the time for the meeting of the State Convention drew nigh it was evident that he would have a strong following at Syracuse.

The New York *Sun* was most energetic in its advocacy. It eulogised him as a man possessed of the "highest qualities of a public man, sound principles, of administrative duty, luminous intelligence and courage to do what is right no matter who may be pleased or displeased thereby." It declared him to be a man on whom any honest citizen no matter of what political faith could put his trust, and maintained that the interests of the Empire State would be entirely safe in his hands. Mr. Manning who proposed his name at the Convention gave the reason why he was acceptable to the Democratic party, when he said, "he was a man who could command not only the votes of his own party, but also a large proportion of the independent voters of the State." There was little doubt from the first of Mr. Cleveland's

nomination, and he was nominated on the third ballot.

The campaign which followed was one of the most stirring in the history of New York State. It was a struggle for more than State domination; if the Democrats were successful in electing Grover Cleveland for Governor they would stand an excellent chance of getting into power at the next Presidential election. They had a decided triumph, and their candidate was elected by a majority of 192,000, a vote which showed very clearly the attitude of the best members of the Republican party to the professional politicians.

Mr. Cleveland began his term as governor well. He was a Democrat of the Democrats and in order to show that he was a simple plain citizen, although at the head of a State as large and influential and more wealthy than some of the European monarchies, he walked to the government buildings to the inaugural ceremonies, and as soon as they were over began to work industriously in the governor's offices. During his term as governor he kept no carriage, and in private life was in no way different from what he had been as a citizen of Buffalo.

He had been a people's mayor, he was now a people's governor, and took the first opportunity which presented itself of showing how fully he recognised that his election was due to the popular will and that it was his intention to have ever before him the needs and wishes of the people. At a banquet given in his honour at the Manhattan Club of New York city on December 6, he said:

"He must be blind who cannot see that the people well understand their power and are determined to use it when their rights and interests are threatened.

There should be no skepticism to-night as to the strength and perpetuity of our government. Partisan leaders have learned, too, that the people will not unwittingly and blindly follow, and that something more than wavering devotion to party is necessary to secure their allegiance. I am quite certain that the late demonstration did not spring from any pre-existing love for the party which was called to power, nor did the people put the affairs of the State in our hands to be by them forgotten. They voted for themselves, and in their own interests. If we retain their confidence, we must deserve it, and we may be sure they will call on us to give an account of our stewardship. We shall utterly fail to read aright the signs of the times if we are not fully convinced that parties are but instruments through which the people work out their will, and that when they become less or more, the people desert or destroy them.....It has seemed to me that a citizen who has been chosen by his fellows to discharge public duties owes no less nor more to them whether he is selected by a small or a large majority. In either event he owes to the people who honour him his best endeavours to carefully protect their rights and further their interests. An administration is only successful in a partisan sense when it appears to be an outgrowth and result of party principles and methods. These honoured doctrines of the Democratic party are dear to me. If honestly applied in their purity I know that the affairs of the government will be fittingly and honestly administered, and I believe that all the wants and needs of the people would be met. They have survived all changes, and good patriotic men have clung to them through all disasters as the hope of political salvation. Let us hold them as a sacred

trust, and not forget that the intelligent, thinking, reading people will look to a party which they put in power to supply all their various needs and wants, and that the party which keeps pace with the developments and progress of the times, which keeps in sight its landmarks and yet observes the things which are in advance, and which will continue true to the people as well as to its traditions, will be the dominant party of the future. My only aspiration is to faithfully perform the duties of the office to which the people of my State have called me, and I hope and trust that proud endeavour will light the way to a successful administration."

He expressed himself in this speech in a more strongly partisan manner than he had possibly ever spoken before, but at the same time he made it clear that truth and duty would come before party. It was naturally expected by many of those who had been most active in securing his election that they would receive their reward. He pointed out to his party, however, that political services alone would not be sufficient to secure an office or to secure the passing of any measure. "I am unwilling," he said, in speaking of the general public, "knowingly to give my assent to measures purely partisan which will sacrifice or endanger their interests."

While he was a people's governor he at the same time showed that he was fair to capital. Vested interest had to be respected, and in several of his vetoes he placed himself in a position opposed to the popular will. One of the most striking of these instances was his veto on a bill which had passed the legislature reducing all fares on the line of the Manhattan Railway Company between the Battery and Harlem River to five cents. The company was a

most unpopular one, and the action of the legislature was generally approved of. But in the face of this the governor unhesitatingly vetoed the bill. He did not do this, however, without very clearly stating his reason. He pointed out how difficult it had been to secure adequate rapid transit for the city of New York and it was only after many failures that capitalists had succeeded in solving the problem. They had done so at much risk and expense and had not forfeited any of their rights. "It was," he said, "manifestly important that invested capital should be protected, and that its necessity and usefulness in the development of enterprises valuable to the people, should be recognised by conservative conduct on the part of the State government.

"But we have especially in our keeping the honour and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the Commonwealth."

In 1884, an act was passed by the legislature to provide that all appointments made by the Mayor and confirmed by the Board of Alderman should henceforth be "made by the Mayor without such confirmation." Governor Cleveland determined to sanction this measure. Strong appeals were made to him to veto it. The measure was considered by many as an invasion of the popular rights, but once more he determined to act in opposition to the wish of the people. In doing so he said, "If the chief executive of the city is to be held responsible for its order and good government, he should not be hampered by any interference with his selection of subordinate administration officers, nor should he be permitted to find in a divided responsibility an excuse for any neglect of the best interests of the people."

In Mr. Cleveland's first message he gained the confidence of the people by the expression of his position on taxation and on civil service reform. He pronounced himself in favour of just taxation and of the appointment of subordinates upon fitness and efficiency for pure government, and he further pointed out to the people that if local rule was "bad, weak or inefficient, those who suffer from mal-administration have the remedy within their own control." From the beginning he advocated civil service reform and in his second message to the legislature, January 1, 1884, expressed himself as strongly as at the beginning of his term on this question as well as on taxation.

"Strict economy," he said, "in the management of State affairs, by their agents, should furnish the people a good government at the least possible cost. This is common honesty. But to see to it that this cost is fairly and justly distributed and the burden equally borne by those who have no peaceful redress if the State is unjust, is the best attribute of sovereignty and the highest duty to the citizen. The recognition of this duty characterises a beneficient government; but its repudiation marks the oppression of tyrannical power.....

"During the year the provisions of the Act passed by the last legislature to regulate and improve the civil service of the State have been put into operation. Fortunately a commission was secured whose members were in hearty sympathy with the principles of the law, and who possessed much practical knowledge of the needs of the public service. The commission itself was also fortunate in obtaining the services of Silas W. Burt as chief examiner, whose experience in public affairs and familiarity with the

best methods of regulating the civil service enabled him to render invaluable assistance to the commission and the State. The preliminary classification and the forming of rules, contemplated by the Act governing the appointments to place, having been completed and received my approval, the system will become operative in respect to all State officers and in all State institutions on the fourth day of the present month.

"The principle of selecting the subordinate employees of the State on the ground of capacity and fitness ascertained according to fixed and impartial rules, without regard to political predilections, and with reasonable assurance of detention, and promotion in case of meritorious service, is now the established policy of the State."

The substance of this message merely proved that he had been faithful to his trust, that he had kept the promises he made in his letter accepting the nomination. He had then said that subordinates should be selected and retained for their efficiency, that their tenure of office should depend upon their ability and merit and that the people should demand of them the best services that could be obtained for the money.

While he was a people's governor he could, as has been pointed out, act in opposition to the wishes of the people, and, in one striking instance, against their prejudices. While he was governor a workman was killed on the construction work of the Capitol. The family of the unfortunate man was granted an appropriation of $1,000. The family had no legal right to this sum and the governor vetoed the appropriation. His reason was that the people's money should be dealt with in the same way as the money

of any business concern. This act was of course used against him in his presidential campaign. His enemies forgot to tell, however, that he was one of the first to subscribe liberally out of his own pocket to the bereaved family.

He was in reality the champion of the labouring classes and strove in season and out of season to live up to the policy of the Democratic party of the State: "that labour should be made free, healthful, and secure of just remuneration; that convict labour should not come into competition with the industry of law-abiding citizens. That the labour of children should be surrounded with such safeguards as their health, their rights of education and their future, as useful members of the community demand; that workshops whether large or small, should be under such sanitary control as will insure the health and comfort of the employed and will protect all against unwholesome labour and surroundings; that labour shall have the same rights as capital to combine for its own protection, and that all legislation which cramps industry or which enables the powerful to oppress the weak, should be repealed, and, to promote the interests of labour, we recommend the collection of statistics and information respecting the improvements, needs and abuses of the various branches of industry."

Governor Cleveland lived up to this platform and, while he made enemies among the labouring classes, on account of his independent attitude, won the esteem and confidence of their leaders.

During his term as governor a young assemblyman came forward in his efforts to reform the government of New York City. This young man was Theodore Roosevelt, the present President of the United States. In his efforts he received the strongest sup-

port of the governor, and it was at this time that the fight began which ultimately ended in the effectual crushing of Tammany.

Governor Cleveland won the admiration of the best men in the State, and became widely recognised as the wisest governor New York ever had. Presidents of Universities, business men of repute and others wrote to him congratulating him on the wisdom of his measures and approving of many of his vetoes. He had become to some extent a national figure as mayor of Buffalo, but as governor of New York he became infinitely more so, and although he had been in no sense of the word an active politician, the Democratic leaders soon began to recognise in him a possible candidate for the office of President.

It would be no easy matter to elect a Democratic President, and if any man could be successful it would be the Reform Governor of New York. To win the country it would be necessary to win New York State, and no one was more likely to do this than the man who for two years had fearlessly acted in the interests of economy, justice and good government,—at once the friend of capital and of labour.

CHAPTER XXI.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND (*Continued*).

AFFAIRS had reached such a pitch in the United States that the best men of the country of all parties felt that it was time for a change. The Republican party had grown incurably corrupt and the nation feared that, if Mr. James Blaine, the choice of the party, were elected to the Executive the corruption instead of lessening would only be increased. There was no more active partisan in the country, and his aim had ever been to hold power by the ordinary political and unscrupulous methods. When the Democratic National Convention met in Chicago, it was soon evident that Grover Cleveland would be the choice of the party. He had won the esteem of many of the best minds of the Republican party and with their strength added to the ordinary Democratic vote it was thought that he would be able to carry the country. As a consequence he received 683 votes on the second ballot, and his nomination was then made unanimous.

His letter of acceptance was characteristic of the man. In it he divests himself almost entirely of party bias and stands for truth and good government.

"The party and its representatives," he said, "which ask to be entrusted at the hands of the

people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and safety should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true democracy. I have kept the faith because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment, and prosperity of the people.

"If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong, because we are true to ourselves and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people's interests. These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause, and we go forth not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of national affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort or urge us to continuous and earnest labour and effective party organisation. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap a full reward of patriotic services well performed."

There were four candidates in the field, Mr. James G. Blaine of Maine, Republican; Mr. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, Labour and Greenback candidate; John P. St. John of Kansas, Prohibition candidate; and Grover Cleveland, Democrat. The fight, however, was between Governor Cleveland and

Mr. Blaine. On the part of the Republicans it was waged with a good deal of bitterness; they saw the strength of the man opposed to them and they endeavoured by every means, fair and foul, to defeat him. They did not hesitate to use the strained feeling still existing between the North and the South to help them defeat their opponents. The Democrats were the friends of the South; to give the government into their hands would be to place the men who tried to tear the Union asunder in power. Mr. Blaine was of all Republicans the most ungenerous to the Democrats. However, their campaign had but little force; such men as Henry Ward Beecher and George William Curtis, and such papers as *Harper's Weekly*, *The Times* and *The Post* stood by the man who had done so much for the State of New York.

Harper's Weekly well voiced the feeling of the best men in the State when it said of the governor: "His name has become that of the especial representative among our public men of the integrity, purity, and economy of administration which are the objects of the most intelligent and patriotic citizens. The bitter and furious hostility of Tammany Hall and of General Butler to Cleveland is his passport to the confidence of good men, and the general conviction that Tammany will do all it can to defeat him will be an additional incentive to the voters who cannot support Mr. Blaine, and who are unwilling not to vote at all, to secure the election of a candidate whom the political rings and the party traders instinctively hate and unitedly oppose.....

"The nomination of Governor Cleveland is due not so much to the preference of his party as to the general demand of the country for a candidacy which

stands for precisely the qualities and services which are associated with his name."

As a result of this strong support the Democrats carried the country. Perhaps it is hardly just to say that it was as a result of this support, it was rather due to the methods adopted by Governor Cleveland's opponents in their canvass against him. Attacks were made on his personal character. He was denounced as an enemy of the labouring man largely on account of his action on the five cent fare bill. The cry, too, was raised, through the lack of wisdom of one Dr. Burchard, that the Democratic party was synonymous with "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." They were hoisted with their own petard; the injustice of this cry gave Governor Cleveland many Republicans who very probably would have refrained altogether from voting. It was due to it very largely that New York State was carried by the Democrats, and the winning of New York State meant the winning of the country. When the vote was counted Cleveland had 4,874,986, Blaine 4,851,981, Butler 175,370, St. John 150,369, and Cleveland received 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182.

During the heated campaign Governor Cleveland had continued to work quietly in his office at Albany. The abuse that was heaped upon him he ignored with a dignity and reserve that gained him many friends and admirers, and after his election he continued to maintain the same reserve, refusing to let the world at large know what course he intended to pursue; although before his inauguration in March he expressed himself once more strongly in favour of civil service reform and against increased silver coinage.

In January he resigned the governorship into the

hands of Mr. D. B. Hill the deputy-governor, and on March 4 the inaugural celebrations took place. There was great rejoicing in the South over the return of the Democrats to power. It was, indeed, a triumph for the solid South, and thousands who had keep away from the Capital since the war now visited it to take part in the inaugural parade, in which, it is said, there were over 100,000 people.

It had long been the custom of the presidents to deliver a written address, but Grover Cleveland decided to be an exception to the rule. He was an orator of considerable power and thought that his words would have greater force if spoken to the assembled multitude. As in his previous utterances he aimed at laying before his country noble ideals; truth, justice, economy, were the burden of his speech on this occasion.

"In the discharge of my official duty," he said, "I shall endeavour to be guided by a just and unstrained construction of the Constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the States or to the people, and by a cautious appreciation of those functions which by the Constitution and laws have been especially assigned to the Executive branch of the government.....

"I[illegible] duty of those serving the people in public place[illegible] closely limit public expenditures to the actual needs of the government, economically administered, because this bounds the right of the government to exact tribute from the earnings of labour or the property of the citizen, and because public extravagance begets extravagance among the people. We should never be ashamed of the simplicity and prudential economy which are best suited

to the operation of a Republican form of government and most compatible with the mission of the American people. Those who are selected for a limited time to manage public affairs are still of the people, and may do much by their example to encourage consistently with the dignity of their official functions, that plain way of life which among their fellow citizens aids integrity and promotes thrift and prosperity.

"The genius of our institutions, the needs of our people in their home life, and the attention which is demanded for the settlement and development of the resources of our vast territory dictate the scrupulous avoidance of any departure from that foreign policy commended by the history, the traditions, and the prosperity of our Republic. It is the policy of independence, favoured by our position and defended by our known love of justice and by our own power. It is the policy of peace suitable to our interests. It is the policy of neutrality, rejecting any share in foreign broils and ambitions upon other continents and repelling their intrusion here. It is the policy of Monroe, and of Washington, and of Jefferson—'Peace, Commerce, and honest friendship with all, nations, entangling alliance with none.' .....

"The people demand reform in the administration of the government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end, civil service reform should be in good faith enforced. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employees who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards; and those who worthily seek public employ-

ment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognised instead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.....

"Our duties are practical and call for industrious application, an intelligent perception of the claims of public office, and, above all, a firm determination by united action, to secure to all the people of the land the full benefits of the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man. And let us not trust to human effort alone, but humbly acknowledging the power and goodness of Almighty God, who presides over the destiny of nations and who has at all times been revealed in our country's history, let us invoke His aid and His blessing on our labours."

The cabinet he appointed was thoroughly Democratic and an exceptionally able one. It was made up as follows: Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State; Daniel Manning, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; William Endicott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; William C. Whitney, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General; Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas, Attorney-General; Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior.

President Cleveland began his term with the intention of purifying the civil service. Many of the professional politicians supposed his utterances against rewarding partisans with offices were mere words to catch votes. They very soon, however, found that integrity was the note of their President. Many of the Democrats who had sacrificed much, and many who had expected much felt bitterly against President Cleveland when they found that they were not to be rewarded. At first, at any rate,

he would have nothing to do with the "spoils system." While he came into conflict with the politicians, he, likewise, on the same question, soon found himself in opposition to the Senate. He made removals and appointments and when they demanded the papers dealing with these cases he refused to give them. He was, however, a strong-willed President and for the most part had his own way.

In the West cattle-owners had intruded on the Indian lands in Oklahoma; they had no legal right there and they were ordered to vacate the territory within forty days, and vacate it they did. Large tracts of government land had been given out to corporations and syndicates. This was a menace to the development of the country; homesteads were needed for the population that was ever flocking from foreign lands to the shores of the United States. President Cleveland and his government set themselves to work to recover this land that had been recklessly distributed, and it is said that they succeeded in reclaiming and restoring to the people over 100,000,000 acres.

In the first annual message the President urged on Congress the need of settling the North American Fisheries Question; but the main subject for consideration at this time was the reduction of import duties. He pointed out that the revenues were in excess of the actual needs of the government, and while he was no free trader in the English sense of the word, urged a reduction of the duties. While doing this he said, "We should also deal with the subject in such a manner as to protect the interests of American labour, which is the capital of our workingmen; its stability and proper remuneration furnish the most justifiable pretext for a protective policy."

In his second message he dwelt with even greater emphasis on the same question, pointing out once more the large excess in the revenues of the country, and recommending the cheapening of the necessaries of life and the free entrance of raw material.

During his second year the nation was rejoiced to learn that the bachelor President was to take to himself a helpmate. On June 2, 1886, without any ostentation, which he believed would have been contrary to the spirit of Democracy, he was married to Frances Folsom, daughter of his former law partner of Buffalo, Oscar Folsom. Grover Cleveland was the first President married in the White House, and this wedding with a beautiful young bride cast a romance over the Executive Mansion. His wife proved an excellent first lady of the Republic, and did much to give tone to Washington society.

These two years had been busy ones for the President; hundred of bills had come before him for his approval or disapproval, and to every one of them he gave close study. There was an effort made to pass many fraudulent claims for pensions and these the President sternly vetoed. During his entire term of office he vetoed over three hundred bills, the majority of which had to do with pensions.

In October, 1886, he took a little relaxation from the drudgery of office. The South and West had stood nobly by him in his presidential election, and he now decided to pay that part of his country a visit. In the principal cities he was received with great enthusiasm, and everywhere he spoke with fervour for lofty Democratic ideals, and endeavoured to allay sectional differences and to bring about a united country in more than name.

One of his most noteworthy vetoes during his first

term was that on the Texas Seed Bill. An appropriation had passed both Houses for the distribution of seeds in Texas. He believed the bill to be contrary to law and not in the best interests of the country and while he deplored the drought in Texas which was the occasion of the passing of this bill he refused to sanction it. In doing so he gave the following reasons: "I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution; and I do not believe that the power and duty of the general government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering which is in no manner properly related to the public service or benefit. A prevalent tendency to disregard the limited mission of this power and duty should, I think, be steadfastly resisted to the end; that the lesson should be constantly enforced, that, though the people support the government, the government should not support the people."

His greatest utterance, however, was in his message of December, 1887,—an utterance which did much to defeat him in the following year. He devoted his entire message to the tariff question. There was still an enormous surplus of revenue over expenditure and this should be reduced. The needs of the war had occasioned a high tariff, but this tariff he considered was no longer needed, and pronounced in favour of ultimate free trade. The business men of the country cried out against it, and the practical men of his own party looked upon it as a most unwise utterance. However, it was a definite and courageous policy and though experience would seem to prove that it was not suited to his country, time may give a different verdict.

The difficulties between England and the United States over the fisheries question—long standing dif-

ficulties that had caused a good deal of bitterness of feeling between England's great dependency Canada and the United States—were under consideration once more and a treaty was agreed upon on February 15, 1888. This treaty was rejected by the Senate and the attempt at an amicable settlement of this question for which the President was largely responsible was used against him by his political opponents. He was accused by them of playing into the hands of England.

However, he was still the first Democrat in the country. Despite his vetoes, despite his refusal to play into the hands of the professional politicians of his party, it was clear to all that no other Democratic leader could hope to carry the country, and so when the National Democratic Convention met at St. Louis in June, 1888, he received the nomination on the first ballot.

He accepted the nomination and in doing so gave in a few pregnant sentences the state of affairs as he found them in the Council Chambers of the nation at Washington.

"Four years ago I knew that our chief Executive office, if not carefully guarded, might drift little by little away from the people to whom it belonged, and become a perversion of all that it ought to be; but I did not know how much its moorings had already been loosened.

"I knew four years ago how well devised were the principles of true Democracy for the successful operation of a government by the people and for the people; but I did not know how absolutely necessary their application then was for the restoration to the people of their safety and prosperity. I knew then that abuses and extravagances had crept into the

management of public affairs; but I did not know their numerous forms nor the tenacity of their grasp. I knew then something of the littleness of partisan obstruction; but I did not know how bitter, how reckless and how shameless it could be."

He was once more before the nation on his record. He had proved himself a wise President and a true one. He had been an indefatigable worker with an eye to the smallest details of the government. Nothing seemed to escape him and his opponents could not accuse him of ever having winked at corruption. He had lived up to the letter of his promises and although he had not been able to make the civil service reforms he desired, he had done much to elevate and purify the tone of the entire political life of his country.

CHAPTER XXII.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND. (*Concluded*).

THE struggle between the Republicans under the leadership of General Harrison and the Democrats under President Cleveland was a well fought one. The battle was mainly on the President's message of 1887, and the one great issue of the campaign was tariff reform. The business men of the country were with the Republicans and subscribed liberally to the campaign fund. On the other hand the Democrats lacked organisation. The fight was hottest in Indiana, New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Of these New Jersey and Connecticut went Democratic, but Indiana, Harrison's State, and New York which had elected Cleveland in 1884, went Republican; as a result Harrison had 233 electoral votes and Cleveland 168, but of the popular vote Cleveland had 5,540,390 and Harrison 5,439,853.

Cleveland accepted his defeat with his usual calmness and began the practice of his profession in New York City. He did not, however, remain "blind, deaf and dumb" to the questions of the hour. On several public occasions he showed that he was still in politics and, in 1891, wrote a strong letter against a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. This was a brave letter as it was written in the face

of the fact that the bill had the support of the majority of his own party in Congress. His letter was received with enthusiasm by the nation, and it was a strong factor in re-electing him for President in 1892.

The great question before the country at the close of President Harrison's term was tariff reform. The McKinley bill had not had the effect that its supporters hoped for. There was a general rise in prices under it, but no rise in wages and the nation began to think that what was needed was the general reduction in duties advocated in President Cleveland's message of 1887. Already there had been a reaction against high tariff, and, in 1890, the Republicans suffered severe defeat in the Congressional election. William McKinley of Ohio going down with the rest. The people it was believed were being robbed for the few, and the forces of labour were massed against capital.

The Democrats saw that their chances of being returned to power were good, and they likewise saw that the one man in their party who had the confidence of the nation was Grover Cleveland. When the Democratic National Convention met at Chicago in June, 1892, he was nominated for the Presidency on the first ballot, and this in opposition to the delegates from his own State. In his letter of acceptance he said:

"Tariff reform is still our purpose. Though we oppose the theory that tariff laws may be passed having for their object the granting of discriminating and unfair governmental aid to private ventures, we wage no exterminating war against any American interests. We believe a readjustment can be accomplished, in accordance with the principles we profess,

without disaster or demolition. We believe that the advantages of freer raw material should be accorded to our manufacturers, and we contemplate fair and careful distribution of necessary tariff burdens, rather than the precipitation of free trade."

He was for sound money, for civil service reform, for reduced taxation, and on these questions he won a tremendous victory. There were four candidates in the field, but Cleveland had a substantial majority. The popular vote stood 5,553,142 for Cleveland, 5,186,931 for Harrison, 1,300,128 for Weaver, leader of the "People's Party," and 268,361 for Bidwell, the prohibitionist representative. Of the electoral vote Cleveland received 276, General Harrison 145, and Mr. Weaver 23.

Grover Cleveland had the honour of being the first President re-elected after an interim.

In the cabinet he selected there were no representatives from the cabinet of his first term, but it was made up of even stronger men. Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana, was his Secretary of State, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Daniel S. Lamont, of New York, Secretary of War; Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General; Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, Postmaster-General; Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy; Hoke Smith, of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior, and J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, Secretary of Agriculture, a department which Mr. Cleveland had given cabinet rank during his first administration. In May, 1895, Judge Gresham died and was succeeded by Attorney-General Olney whose place was taken by Judson Harmon of Ohio. In the same year Postmaster-General Bissell resigned and William L. Wilson of Virginia succeeded to his office. In the

following year Secretary Smith resigned and David R. Francis of Missouri became Secretary of the Interior.

President Cleveland entered upon power for his second term at a very critical moment in his country's history. It was at a time of general depression, the causes of which were deep in the past, and no tariff reform or currency legislation could have brought about immediate relief. At the same time he had left him from the Harrison government a legacy of foreign difficulties that required considerable wisdom to handle, and whichever way he acted offence would be given to a large portion of his people.

On February 14, 1893, a treaty had been concluded between President Harrison and the commissioners representing the provisional government of Hawaii annexing the islands to the United States, but President Harrison's term closed before the Senate had acted upon this treaty. President Cleveland now withdrew the treaty from the Senate pending an investigation of the situation in the islands. After thoroughly sifting the matter he concluded that the lawful government of Hawaii had been unjustly overthrown, and he informed Congress that he would not again submit the treaty of annexation to the Senate, and he expressed to the Queen and her supporters "his desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu on January 16 last, if such restoration could be effected upon terms providing for clemency as well as justice to all parties concerned." Honour and integrity were the grounds he took.

"A man of true honour," he said, "protects the unwritten word which binds his conscience more

scrupuously, if possible, than he does the bond, a breach of which subjects him to legal liabilities; and the United States, in aiming to maintain itself as one of the most enlightened of nations, would do its citizens gross injustice if it applied to its international relations any other than a high standard of honour and morality. On that ground the United States cannot properly be put in the position of countenancing the wrong after its commission any more than in that of consenting to it in advance. On that ground it cannot allow itself to refuse to redress an injury inflicted through an abuse of power by officers clothed with its authority and wearing its uniform; and on the same ground, if a feeble but trembling state is in danger of being robbed of its independence and its sovereignty by a misuse of the name and power of the United States, the United States cannot fail to vindicate its honour and its sense of justice by an earnest effort to make all possible reparation. . . . . .

"By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the government of a feeble but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown. A substantial wrong has thus been done, which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people require we should endeavour to repair."

The matter, however, was not by any means settled and on July 4, 1894, the Constitution of Hawaii was formally proclaimed by the revolutionary government with Mr. Dole as President. The United States Senate recognised the new republic and the President could take no further action.

Another matter of international importance which arose during this term was the difficulties between

Spain and the United States with regard to the rebellion which broke out in Cuba in 1895. The Cubans had many sympathisers in the United States, and efforts were made to send men, money, and provisions to the rebellious inhabitants of the islands. President Cleveland no doubt personally sympathised with the oppressed people in their struggle for liberty, but he could not help viewing with concern the filibustering expeditions that were being fitted out in American ports. The neutrality laws had to be preserved, and the government sent war vessels to prevent filibusters from landing on the island. In this the government lacked the sympathy of the people, and was directly opposed by Congress which favoured a recognition by the United States of the insurgents as belligerents. In fact a resolution to this effect passed both Houses in April, 1896, but the President was firm and determined that his country should maintain an absolutely neutral attitude. It was during these two years that that wave of feeling for the oppressed Cubans rose in the United States, a wave which was not to decrease in volume until inevitable war broke out in 1898, and the Spaniard was driven from this continent.

Perhaps the most interesting international situation which arose between the United States and a foreign power since the Alabama difficulty, was the Venezuela boundary question. For many long years Venezuela had felt bitterly towards England on account of her land-grabbing in British Guiana. The initial stages of the trouble began when Sir Robert Schomburgk, in 1840, visited Venezuela with authority to survey the colony. He had put up certain posts to aid him in making the survey and the Venezuelan government complained that these posts were erected

on their territory. Lord Aberdeen concluded to have them removed, but did not thereby abandon the claim to the ground on which they were erected. Two years later discussions commenced between Great Britain and Venezuela with regard to the boundary. The Venezuelans claimed that their territory extended to the Essequibo. However, no definite decision was reached at that time. In 1850, excitement on the question arose once more and the Venezuelans believed that England was making military preparations to enforce her claims in their country. The excitement was allayed, and the matter rested there till 1876 when Venezuela once more pressed her claim. The dispute went on until 1883, when the English minister pressed for a settlement of the question. From the first the Venezuelans believed that they were right and proposed to the greater power that the matter should be settled by arbitration. In 1885, it looked as though the affair was to be amicably concluded. In that year an effort was made to arrange a treaty of commerce and an article with regard to the matter of arbitration was proposed by the Venezuelan minister and accepted by Lord Granville. This article was as follows:

"If, as it is to be deprecated, there shall arise between the United States and Venezuela and the United Kingdom and Ireland any differences which cannot be adjusted by the usual means of friendly negotiation, the two contracting parties agree to submit the decision of all such difficulties to the arbitration of a third power or of several powers in amity with both, without resorting to war, and that the result of such arbitration shall be binding upon both governments.

"The arbitrating power or powers shall be selected

by the two governments by common consent; failing which each of the parties shall nominate an arbitrating power, and the arbitrators thus appointed shall be requested to select another power to act as umpire.

"The procedure of the arbitration shall in each case be determined by the contracting party; failing which the arbitrating power or powers shall be themselves entitled to determine it beforehand."

A change of ministry occurred in Great Britain, however, and the treaty was abandoned.

Shortly after this the situation took on a more serious phase through the Venezuelan government making grants of land for colonisation in the disputed territory, and announcing its intention of erecting a lighthouse at Point Barima. They went farther than this; they ultimately claimed the whole watershed of the River Barima, and demanded that England should evacuate it at once, and that the whole question should be submitted to arbitration. These demands were not complied with by England and friendly relations between the two countries were suspended in March, 1887. The Venezuelan government three years later again began to look towards arbitration, but, as Venezuela insisted on including in the scheme of arbitration the whole of the territory between the Essequibo and Orinoco, England refused to consider the matter.

In 1893, through a hope expressed for the settlement of the differences in South America by arbitration in his message. President Cleveland called the attention of his country to the strained situation between England and Venezuela. It was not, however, until 1895 that the United States was drawn into the dispute. In July of that year Mr. Olney, the Secretary of State, sent a dispatch to England

of a character that did not a little to irritate the English government. It was a forcible dispatch, but lacked that diplomatic fineness that is ever in evidence between European powers. The Monroe Doctrine was much to the fore, and the President and the people were with Mr. Olney. When Congress met in December, 1895, the President referred to the situation in the following words:

"The boundary of British Guiana still remains in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Believing that its early settlement, on some just basis alike honourable to both parties, is in the line of our established policy to remove from this hemisphere all causes of difference with powers beyond the sea, I shall renew the efforts heretofore made to bring about a restoration of diplomatic relations between the disputants, and to induce a reference to arbitration, a resort which Great Britain so conspicuously favours in principle, and respects in practice and which is earnestly sought by her weaker adversary."

The English government was not prepared to arbitrate on the lines suggested by Venezuela, nor did Lord Salisbury recognise the Monroe Doctrine as international law. President Cleveland now went a step further and submitted the correspondence to Congress with a message which was practically a threat at Great Britain. He decided that a committee should be appointed to investigate the situation and that after mature consideration the United States should make a further demand for arbitration. In his message he said with regard to this commission "that it shall make the necessary investigations, and report upon the matter with the least possible delay. When such a report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist,

by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, we have determined of right to belong to Venezuela.

"In making these recommendations, I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realise all the consequences which may follow.

"I am nevertheless firm in my conviction that, while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilisation, and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice, and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honour, beneath which is shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness."

This was a startling message: it astonished Europe and delighted the people of the United States. For a time it was thought that it would be impossible for England to back down from the position she had taken with regard to the Venezuelan boundary difficulty, and war was felt to be inevitable; for the government of the United States had now gone too far to change its mind. Congress was with the President, the press was with him and the leading men of both parties congratulated him on the firm stand he had taken. To Europe it was "shirt sleeve diplomacy," but it did its work. Lord Salisbury remained calm and dignified during the heated discussion which followed and gave no hint of his intentions

while Congress authorized the appointment of a boundary commission.

This commission was an able one, consisting of some of the wisest and fairest-minded and most cultured men in the United States. It was constituted as follows: Justice David J. Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, Chief Justice Alvey, of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D. White, of New York; Frederick R. Coudert, of New York and Daniel C. Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins University. The commission collected evidence, but before it could make any report the popular clamour for arbitration in England made the government deem it wise to settle the matter in that way, thus tacitly recognising the contention of the United States with regard to the Monroe Doctrine. On February 2, the Venezuela Arbitration Treaty was signed at Washington by Sir Julian Pauncefote for England and Minister Andrade for Venezuela and the following arbitrators were named: Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court for the United States, Chief Justice Fuller for the Venezuelan government and Lord Herschell and Justice Collins for Great Britain.

Out of this question arose a desire for general arbitration on difficulties arising between England and the United States and such a treaty was signed by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote. It was sent to the Senate with the strong approval of President Cleveland, but by this time the President was genuinely hated by a majority in the Senate and as a result it failed to pass.

The first year of the President's second term was an important one in the history of the century. In this year the great Columbian Exposition was held at

Chicago, and was formally opened by the President on May 1. It was attended by millions of people who were enraptured with the White City and who viewed with wonder the evidences of the vast progress their country had made. Here, too, the nations of the world met to rejoice with the people of the United States, but in the midst of this rejoicing a cry went up for bread, there was poverty in the land, extreme poverty, and tens of thousands even in the city where the celebration was being held were homeless, and throughout the country at large recruits were preparing for Coxey's famous army of tramps.

What were the causes of this deplorable state of affairs in a country of such vast resources? According to some over-production, to others the high tariff introduced by the McKinley Bill, but to President Cleveland the cause was to be found in the iniquitous legislation affecting the currency of the country. Whatever were the causes, the gold reserve was rapidly diminishing, silver was accumulating in the treasury and government expenditure was exceeding the revenue. As a result of this state of affairs there was a panic throughout the country; banks suspended payment and business generally was paralysed. It was necessary for the President to grapple with the situation and he went fearlessly to work.

The Sherman Act of 1890 was generally looked upon as largely responsible for the business situation and the President advocated a repeal of this Act. He declared that the unfortunate financial plight was principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the general government. There was no confidence in the nation's policy at home and no respect for it abroad. A sound and staple currency was a necessity. The

United States with its rapidly growing interests should have money that would be respected in every market of the world. The strenuous efforts of the President caused the Sherman Act to be repealed in the House, but he met with a determined resistance in the Senate. The silver men of the West were naturally strongly opposed to repeal and everything conceivable was done to block the passage of the bill. A compromise was agreed on in the Senate, but on this matter President Cleveland would have no compromise, and although he made enemies of many of his ablest Democratic supporters he stood firm for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act. It was a difficult task to overcome the opposition in the Senate, but the people were for the most part with the President and the House and the Senators at length gave way and the Repeal Bill became law, November 1, 1892.

The campaign of 1892 had been fought out along the lines of tariff revision, and to keep its pledge to the people the government had to give its attention to this important matter. In the President's message in December, 1893, he pointed out that tariff revision was the most important matter claiming the attention of the government, even more important than the currency. The two main points he advocated were, a reduction in the present tariff charges upon the necessaries of life and the removal of restrictions upon the importation of raw materials used in American factories. If the United States desired to become an exporting country, cheap raw materials were needful. But while advancing these ideas he was careful to point out that where money had been invested in reliance on the policy of Congress care should be taken to guard the interests concerned.

The Committee of Ways and Means framed a tariff bill along the line suggested by the President, and this bill, the Wilson Bill, passed the House, February 1, 1894. The Senate once more stood in the way and amended it greatly in the direction of higher duties. When after months of discussion it passed the Senate by a small majority it bore but a very slight resemblance to the original bill. In August, 1894, the amended bill passed both Houses and became law without the signature of the President. President Cleveland deeply deplored what he conceived to be a falling away from true Democratic principles; besides his party had broken the pledges made to the electors during the campaign. How deeply he felt can be gathered from the letter which he addressed on this subject to Mr. Wilson, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who introduced the bill to the House.

"My public life has been so closely related to the subject, I have so longed for its accomplishment, and I have so often promised its realisation to my fellow-countrymen as a result of their trust and confidence in the Democratic party, that I hope no excuse is necessary for my earnest appeal to you that in this crisis you strenuously insist upon party honesty, and good faith, and a sturdy adherence to Democratic principles.

"I believe these are absolutely necessary conditions to the continuation of Democratic existence. I cannot rid myself of the feeling that this conference will present the best, if not the only hope of true Democracy. Indications point to its action as the reliance of those who desire the genuine fruition of Democratic effort; the fulfilment of Democratic pledges, and the redemption of Democratic promises

to the people. To reconcile differences in the details comprised within the fixed and well defined lines of principle, will not be the sole task of the conference, but, as it seems to me, its members will also have in charge the question whether Democratic principles themselves are to be saved or abandoned.

"There is no excuse for mistaking or misapprehending the feeling and temper of the rank and file of the Democracy. They are downcast under the assertion that their party fails in ability to manage the government, and they are apprehensive to bring about tariff reform which may fail; but they are much more downcast and apprehensive in their fear that Democratic principles may be surrendered."

The President gave the following reason for refusing to affix his signature to the amended Wilson Bill:

"I take my place with the rank and file of the Democratic party who believe in tariff reform and well know what it is, who refuse to accept the results embodied in this bill as the close of the war, who are not blinded to the fact that the livery of Democratic reform has been stolen and worn in the service of Republican protection, and who have marked the places where the deadly blight of treason has blasted the counsels of the brave in their hour of might. The trusts and combinations—the communism of pelf—whose machinations have prevented us from reaching the success which we deserve, should not be forgotten nor forgiven."

The depression continued in the country and larger deficits followed. The President recommended still further reform of the banking and currency laws, but Congress was not with him. How much he was out of touch with Congress is shown by a river and harbour bill which sanctioned much extravagant and

unnecessary expenditure. This bill was passed over the President's veto. There was general chaos in the country, but through it all the Executive remained firm and true to principle.

He was tested in many ways and ever proved himself strong. The employees of the Pullman Car Company struck work, and as a result riots prevailed in Illinois. The Governor of Illinois, Mr. Altgeld, acted with a lack of firmness which would almost make one suspect him of being in sympathy with the strikers. The railways were boycotted and the postmasters in Chicago appealed to the Federal government for help and Mr. Cleveland sent troops to Chicago against the protest of Mr. Altgeld. His firmness in this critical situation caused the strike to suddenly terminate.

The time for once more nominating a candidate for President came round and Mr. Cleveland had no hope of a renomination. Apart from the general antipathy in the country to any man occupying the Presidency for a third term, he had made enemies of an exceedingly influential wing of the Democratic party. The silver men of the West were opposed to him. He continued vigorously to denounce the free silver movement, and was the recognised leader of the gold standard wing of the Democratic party. He was in a very decided minority, and William J. Bryan, the silver-tongued orator from Nebraska, was nominated for President.

After the inauguration of William McKinley, President Cleveland once more took up the life of an ordinary citizen of the United States. He still continues to represent what is highest and best in Democracy, and the time may yet come when his party will be forced to call him again to its leadership.

While in power he did much for the country; he brought it back to a sound currency, thus paving the way for the prosperity under President McKinley; he made more genuine civil service reforms than any other President, and by his firmness in international matters launched his country on a new career. From the time he asserted the Monroe Doctrine with regard to the Venezuela situation the United States has been a most decided factor in world politics. It is true he lacked diplomatic fineness, and was more or less stubborn and self-willed, but he was the tool of no man or party and strove to live up to the letter of his pledges. That he was unable to keep faith with the country was due to the selfishness of the representatives of the people in Congress.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON.

(One Administration, 1889–1893.)

The biographers of the presidents of the United States have had some little difficulty in proving that the subjects of their study were descended from noble ancestors. In one or two instances, such as Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, they have failed hopelessly, and in several others have made out very doubtful cases.

With regard to Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President of the United States, they have had, however, very little difficulty in making out a good case. He was of fine old Virginia stock—Puritan stock at that—which had been formed in the school of Cromwell. His first Virginian ancestor was a cousin of Major-General Thomas Harrison, one of Cromwell's generals, and a trusted one. It was Thomas Harrison who conveyed King Charles I. from Hurst to Windsor Castle, and afterwards from Windsor Castle to Whitehall for trial. He, too, sat as one of his judges and his name is affixed to the king's death warrant. On the restoration he was one of the regicides who was executed by the Royalists. Samuel Pepys thus wrote of his execution in his famous *Diary:*

"I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered; it was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition."

When the old Puritan was mounting the scaffold a stander-by remarked "where is your good old cause now?" "Here it is," said Harrison, smiting himself upon the breast, "and I am going to seal it with my blood." His speech on the scaffold was a remarkable one and a few words from it will show where the Harrisons of Virginia received their godly characters and their ardent love of liberty.

"And though," he said, "I am wrongly charged with murder and bloodshed, yet I must tell you I have kept a good conscience both toward God and toward man. I never had malice against any man neither did I act maliciously towards any person, but as I judged them to be enemies to God and to His people; and the Lord is my witness that I have done what I did out of the sincerity of my heart to the Lord. I bless God I have no guilt upon my conscience, but the spirit of God bears witness that my actions are acceptable to the Lord, through Jesus Christ; though I have been compassed about with manifold infirmities, failings, and imperfections in my holiest duties, but in this I have comfort and consolation, that I have peace with God, and do see all my sins washed away in the blood of my dear Saviour. And I do declare as before the Lord, that I should not be guilty wittingly, nor willingly, of the blood of the meanest man,—no, not for ten thousand worlds, much less of the blood of such as I am charged with.

"I have again and again besought the Lord with tears to make known His will and mine unto me

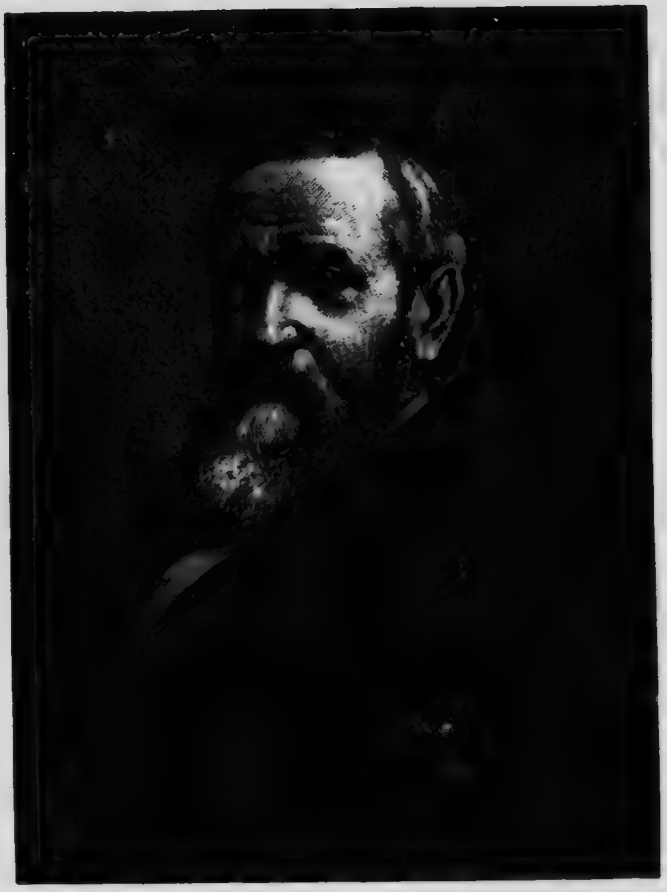
concerning it, and to this day hath rather confirmed me in the justice of it, and, therefore, I leave it to Him, and to Him I commit my ways; but some that were eminent in the work did wickedly turn aside themselves and to set up their nests on high, which caused great dishonour to the name of God and to the profession they had made. And the Lord knows I could have suffered more than this, rather than have fallen in with them in that iniquity, though I was offered what I would if I would have joined with them; my aim in all my proceedings was the glory of God and the good of His people and the welfare of the whole Commonwealth."

It was one Benjamin Harrison, a cousin of the regicide, who emigrated to America and settled in Surrey County, Virginia. A son, Benjamin, was born to him and when this child reached man's estate he married Hannah Churchill of the Churchill family, to which belonged the Duke of Marlborough and which is still represented by the illustrious war-correspondent and British member of parliament, Winston Churchill. For several generations the name Benjamin was handed on from father to son until we reach the celebrated Benjamin, the Harrison of the Revolution. His brother Charles was a general of artillery during the Revolutionary War and he himself was one of the ablest minds controlling the destinies of his country at that time. He was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and afterwards sat in the first colonial Congress. It was he to whom was entrusted the duty of reporting the Resolution of Independence to Congress, and his name appears as a signer to the Declaration of Independence. From 1777 to 1781 he was President of the Virginia House of Burgesses and was three times elected Governor

of Virginia. He was likewise a member of the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States. For those who delight in ancestry hunting it may be interesting to know that Benjamin Harrison the President of the United States was likewise descended from the celebrated Pocahontas.

To Benjamin Harrison of the Revolution was born a son, William Henry Harrison, who was afterwards to rise to the Presidential chair. When this lad grew to manhood he decided to take up the medical profession but the exciting times on the frontier attracted him to the army, and, although naturally a student and far from being strong, made application and, in April, 1791, was commissioned an ensign in the First Regiment of the United States artillery. He rose rapidly in the army and when he left it he was appointed Governor of the Territory of Indiana. He made an able administrator, and at Tippecanoe with his militia defeated the celebrated chief Tecumseh. After this he distinguished himself in the War of 1812 in Canada, defeating General Proctor at the battle of the Thames, in which battle Tecumseh was slain. His son John Scott Harrison, born at Vincennes, Indiana Territory was twice married, his second wife, Elizabeth Irwin, being the mother of Benjamin Harrison, the subject of this sketch.

This lad was born, August 20, 1833, at North Bend, Ohio, at that time the family home of General William Henry Harrison. The advantages for education in Ohio were poor and young Benjamin received the rudiments of his education at the hands of tutors and in a little log cabin which was converted into a temporary schoolhouse. When seven years old the country was swept by the exciting campaign of 1840 which resulted in the election of his grandfather



BENJAMIN HARRISON. 21

for President. Although a young lad his mind must have been influenced by that struggle, and the cry, "the gallant old soldier of Tippecanoe," must have done not a little to shape the current of his ambition. In his Ohio home, too, he, no doubt, became familiar with the names of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, who were among the sturdiest of the Whigs who then led their party to victory. In early life, at least, he was an ardent admirer of Webster, and on one occasion when an Abolitionist made a characteristic speech against the golden-tongued Whig, young Harrison, then but seventeen, made a vigorous reply in his defense.

When fifteen years old he went to Farmers (now Belmont) College, at College Hill, a short distance from Cincinnati. At seventeen he became a student at Miami University. While here he made several friendships that were to influence the course of his life. Oliver P. Morton, Governor of Indiana at the time of the Civil war and under whom he took service, was at that time a student at this college; so, too, were W. P. Fishback his law partner, and the eloquent preacher, Professor David Swing. According to Professor Swing, while at Miami he was a diligent student possessed of great power of concentration which enabled him "to grapple any subject on short notice."

He was by birth a Whig and an ardent protectionist. With the Whig defeat of 1852 and the disappearing of the Whig party from history he became a Republican, but a protectionist he remained until the end of his days. In 1844 the Whig platform was formulated in the convention which met at Baltimore on May 1, and to this platform he for the most part

adhered during the course of his life. It was as follows:

"A well regulated currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labour of the country; the distribution of proceeds from the sale of public lands; a single term for the Presidency; a reform of executive usurpations; and, generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by well regulated and wise economy."

Benjamin Harrison graduated from Miami University, fourth in his class, in 1852. He had while at college won considerable distinction as a ready debater. As soon as he left college he began the study of law with Storer and Gwynne of Cincinnati.

While at Miami a friendship with the daughter of one of his teachers at Farmer's College, Doctor John Witherspoon Scott, ripened into love and before he had completed his law studies he married Carolina L. Scott,—a courageous step, but one that must have somewhat shocked his friends. He was of course unable to provide a home for his wife, and until he was admitted to the Bar they lived at North Bend. This was in 1852; in the spring of 1854 an aunt died and left him a bequest of $800. It was not much, but it enabled him to set out for Indianapolis with his wife to begin there the practice of the law. It is hard to say just why he selected Indianapolis. No doubt he was attracted to Indiana by the influence his grandfather, who was the first governor of the State, had had in organising it. At that time Indianapolis was an exceedingly small town, but a growing one.

The young couple managed to find a comfortable home of three rooms for which they paid $6.00 a month and in this home their struggle began.

Practice came slowly and a $5.00 fee, and that not very often, was the highest sum he earned for many months. He, however, received the position of Court Crier and this helped him not a little. In 1855, he formed a partnership with William Wallace, which lasted for some six years. Wallace's words with regard to this struggle period of Harrison's life are not uninteresting. "He was poor. The truth is, it was a struggle for bread and meat with both of us. He had a noble young wife, who cheerfully shared with him the plainest and simplest style of living. He did the work about his home for a long time himself, and thus made his professional income, not large, keep him independent and free from debt."

He first became known in Indiana as an active politician in 1856. His ability as a speaker was recognised and he was frequently called upon to work on behalf of the new Republican party in its first campaign. Although his party was defeated until 1860, in every State and local campaign he took an active part, and was ever a vigorous upholder of the Union. He carefully studied the situation at the time of the Kansas-Nebraska difficulty, and was preparing himself for the struggle which he saw was inevitable.

Just before the breaking out of the Civil war he had purchased a house for which he was to pay in instalments. When the war broke out and the call went up for men he would have liked to join the ranks, but was kept from enlisting for various reasons. He had his duty towards his home; he had just been elected reporter of the Supreme Court of

Indiana, and his house had to be paid for; besides, he thought, as did many at that time, that a short three months, the time for which the call was made, would end the war. For the same reasons he resisted the call made by President Lincoln in July, 1861, and over a year was to elapse before he found the voice of duty so strong within him that he could hold back no longer.

On the 2nd of July, 1862, things looked so bad for the Union that President Lincoln sent up a call for 300,000 more men. In Indiana, remote from the seat of war, but little response was made to this call. Governor Morton, an enthusiast for the Union, despaired of being able to raise the number of troops requested from his State. To his friend and college mate Benjamin Harrison, he said, "there is absolutely no response to Mr. Lincoln's last call for troops. The people do not appear to realise the necessities of the situation. Something must be done to break the spirit of apathy and indifference which now prevails. See here! look at those workmen across the street, toiling to put up a new building, as if such things could be possible when the country itself is in danger of destruction."

These words roused Harrison. He at once said he felt sure he could raise a regiment and added that if he made a recruiting speech and asked any man to enlist he proposed to go with him, and stay with him as long as he stayed, if he lived so long. Without even returning to his home to consult with his wife, he at once began his work, converting his law office into a recruiting station. His enthusiasm was contagious and in a very short time the whole 70th Regiment was recruited.

On the 14th of July he was mustered into service

as Second Lieutenant; on the 22nd, as Captain; and on the 7th of August, as Colonel of the Regiment. In a month after the enrolment, the 70th was in Kentucky and ready for action. It was as raw a regiment as ever commander took into the field. However, Colonel Harrison went at his work industriously, and very soon by constant drill had it in fairly good shape. Fortunately it was detailed for a time in skirmishing through Kentucky and Tennessee as a part of the Army of the Cumberland. By the time it was called into any decisive battle both leader and soldiers were veterans.

It was not until May of 1864 that the 70th experienced heavy fighting. It was with the 20th army corps on the "march through Georgia" and, at Rocky Face Ridge and Resaca, Benjamin Harrison had an opportunity of proving that he was not an unworthy descendant of the Harrisons of the Revolution and of "Tippecanoe." The Union forces were endeavouring to reach Resaca, but a rebel battery stationed on a hilltop checked their advance. It was necessary that that battery should be silenced. Upon Harrison fell the duty of leading his men against it. A pine wood intervened between the troops and the battery on the hill, and in order to locate it accurately and unmask the guns he went forward with an aide-de-camp to view the ground. When they were observed the guns opened fire upon them. He turned to his troops and shouted his favorite command,—"Come on, Boys!" They gallantly charged forward until the outer line of the Confederates was reached, and then a fierce hand to hand fight took place. The Union forces were successful and a number of the enemy were taken prisoners. Night fell, however, and the work of finally seizing

the battery had to be delayed till morning. The charge had been a gallant but an expensive one; fully a third of Harrison's force had fallen in their efforts to reach the guns. When morning broke the Union generals scanned the hill-top and made ready to finish the work of the previous day, but the enemy saw that they could not hold out and had withdrawn in the darkness.

After the fight the march continued towards Atlanta, and at every stage in the march Harrison did valiant work. The following interesting paragraph written by one who followed him on this march shows that at that time there was in him a good deal of the spirit that animated the old Puritan of Cromwell's day.

"One scene has always lived in my memory. Our old chaplain Allen, a man who was beloved by all the boys, and for whom almost every man in the regiment would have given his life, conducted services on Sunday with Colonel Harrison, as he was then, and Lieutenant Colonel Sam Merrill assisting. I have often heard General Harrison offer up the prayer for the boys' welfare and protection down there on those Southern fields, so far away from home, and many times have heard him address the boys in place of the chaplain. Never to my knowledge, in all the trying times of war, did I ever see one thing from him unbecoming a Christian. I think the battle-field and the camp bring out what there is in a man about as well as anything can, and I have seen General Harrison tested in every way. As a soldier, courageous, sympathetic, and enduring, the army had no better."

He distinguished himself in the battle of Chickamauga; but it was not until the 20th of July, when the battle of Peach Tree Creek was fought, that he

was brought prominently before the notice of the authorities. On this day General Hooker's army was in serious danger, Colonel Harrison grasped the situation and calling out to his force which was in reserve, "Come on, Boys!" charged up the hill followed by his men. They came in contact with the Confederates who were crouching behind the fence waiting to receive them. Into the line they dashed and after a fierce fight of over half an hour succeeded in repulsing the enemy. Harrison's courage had won the day, but he paid dearly for it; over two hundred men of his brigade fell in the short, sharp struggle. On the following day General Hooker as he rode along the line congratulated him on his excellent work and declared that he would have him made a brigadier-general. Three months later the General wrote the following letter to the Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

"I desire to call the attention of the department to the claims of Colonel Benjamin Harrison, of the 70th Indiana Volunteers, for promotion to the rank of brigadier-general.

"Colonel Harrison first joined me in command of a brigade of Ward's Division in Lookout Valley, preparatory to entering upon what is called the campaign of Atlanta. My attention was first attracted to this young officer by the superior excellence of his brigade in discipline and instruction, the result of his labour, skill, and devotion. With more foresight than I have witnessed in any officer of his experience, he seemed to act upon the principle that success depended upon the thorough preparation in discipline and *esprit* of his command for conflict more than on any influence that could be exerted upon the field itself, and when collision came his command vin-

dicated his wisdom as much as his valour. In all the achievements of the Twentieth Corps in that campaign, Colonel Harrison bore a conspicuous part. At Resaca and Peach Tree Creek, the conduct of himself and command were especially distinguished. Colonel Harrison is an officer of superior abilities and of great professional and personal worth. It gives me great pleasure to commend him favourably to the Hon. Secretary, with the assurance that his preferment will be a just recognition of his services and martial accomplishments."

After the battle of Peach Tree Creek in which he had played such a gallant part he discovered that the field hospitals were in many cases without surgeons. He at once took off his coat, and began tenderly bandaging the wounded.

He remained with the army until the fall of Atlanta on September 1, and then asked for and received thirty days' leave of absence. It will be remembered that when he enlisted he was reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana. His Democratic opponents took advantage of his absence; the office was declared vacant and a Democrat was nominated and elected in his place. The time had now come round for another election and he made up his mind to once more win the office. After a vigorous campaign he was elected by a large majority. During his struggle for this office he did much to make Indiana a sure State for Lincoln in the Federal election which followed in that year.

When the election was over he at once rejoined his command and was with Sherman's force when it entered Savannah. He was still to see more fighting, and in December was one of the leading generals in the struggles that took place near Murfreesboro'

and Nashville, and did not a little to drive Hood from Tennessee and to end the war in the West.

Towards the end of December he learned that his children were sick with fever and he hastened to his home. They soon recovered and he once more set out to join Sherman. He was, however, smitten down with fever and for a time his life was despaired of. His constitution had been somewhat undermined by the hardships of these long campaigns, but he fought bravely with the disease, and by Spring was able to rejoin Sherman's force in time to be in at the great final stage of the war, and was present at Durham Station, North Carolina, when General Johnston surrendered to General Sherman.

The war over he at once returned to the routine of his office, but no soldier of Indiana was more honoured by the people; and it was evident to his admirers that he would soon be forced to take a prominent part in the politics of his State. He rapidly grew in reputation, and was soon recognised as one of the ablest lawyers of his time. He always fought to win, and gave every case the most careful study. His contact with men during the war, his experiences in camp and on the battle-field had done much to mould his character, and he had now a broader view of things and a wider knowledge of men than when he went forth with his raw recruits three years before.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON *(Concluded)*.

For nearly ten years General Harrison managed to keep out of political life, excepting, of course, that he was ever ready to assist the Republican party in its fights in the State. In 1875 his friends urged him to enter the field as a candidate for the Governorship of Indiana in 1876, but he had no ambition in that direction and declined to allow his name to go before the State Convention, as his personal affairs would not permit him to abandon the pursuit of his profession for such work. Godlove S. Orth was then nominated, but he had scarcely begun his canvass when an old scandal connecting him dishonourably with the Venezuela Claims was raked up. It was an unjust accusation, but Mr. Orth withdrew.

At this time General Harrison was on a vacation trip in the North-West, and as the Republicans of Indiana knew that he was the only man under whom they could have any chance of carrying the State they placed his name, without his consent, at the head of the ticket. When he heard of their action he at first refused to allow his name to stand, but he sacrificed himself for his party and undertook a canvass. He had only six weeks before election but in that time he

visited every corner of the State, proving himself an able stumper and winning many votes. He was defeated, but the Democratic majority was so greatly reduced that they realised they had to do with a man of force of character and popularity.

In 1877 during the widespread strikes throughout the United States the mobs of workmen threatened public property and life in Indiana. At such a time he could not be silent, and counselled the toiling classes to obey the laws of the land, at the same time speaking in favour of higher wages. It was necessary to call out troops; and he was placed in command of one company which was detailed to protect the United States Armoury. During thi critical time he proved himself in every way a force for peace and a friend of the workmen, and when the strike was over and a number of the leaders were imprisoned it was largely due to his influence that many of them were released.

The authorities in Washington had their eye on this energetic Republican lawyer, and when the very important Mississippi River Commission was appointed, in 1879, by President Hayes, to consider the improvement of the navigation of the river and the reclaiming of the alluvial lands, he was appointed a member of it.

The return of good times in trade and the wise administration of Hayes had restored confidence in the country, and things looked bright for the party in power when the time for the general election once more came round in 1880. General Harrison was Chairman of the Indiana delegation to the National Republican Convention in Chicago of that year. Among his friends his name was suggested for President, but he promptly checked the movement in his

favour. He had gone to Chicago without any thought of supporting Garfield, but when the difficulty arose between the friends of Ulysses S. Grant and the anti-third term men he brought the solid vote of Indiana into line for James A. Garfield. In the campaign which followed he vigorously stumped the State, and did much to win it for the Republicans both in the local elections in October and in the Federal election in November.

The good work he had done for his party was recognised by President Garfield, who offered him a place in his cabinet, but this offer he refused. He was not without his reward, however, for the new legislature, which he had done so much to elect, appointed him to serve in the United States Senate for six years, from March, 1881, to March, 1887. While in the Senate he did excellent work on the Chinese question, on the admission of the Territories into the Union, and on the Contract Labour Bill. He was an out and out opponent of the wholesale immigration of cheap labour. He was a vigorous advocate of civil service reform and an upholder of high tariff. He was, however, a strong partisan, and during Mr. Cleveland's term could see but little good in the President, and was a severe critic of many of his vetoes, especially those on the pension Bills. His term in the Senate expired on March 4, 1887, and he was once more considered by the legislature, but the Hon. David Turpie was chosen to succeed him, and he returned from Washington to his Indianapolis home.

He was now to come prominently before the nation on some of the larger questions of the day. At that time trusts, combines, and monopolies, although they had not reached the gigantic proportion of the present

day, were beginning to make themselves felt. He saw the danger in them, saw that his country might yet be ruled by an oligarchy of wealth, an oligarchy that might in time hold the toilers of the nation in practical servitude. On several occasions after his return to Indianapolis he denounced trusts as un-American, unpatriotic, and declared that some way must be found to stop these combinations.

Early in 1888 his Ohio friends began to speak of him as a possible candidate for the Presidency, and when the Republican National Convention met in Chicago on June 19, 1888, there were many who hoped to have him the choice of the party. There were a number of very strong names before the Convention, chief among them were John Sherman, Chauncey M. Depew, James G. Blaine, and General Harrison. At first Harrison seemed to have but little chance against Sherman, but on the fourth ballot it was evident that he was going to make a hard race for the nomination, and on the eighth, carried it by an overwhelming majority. One of his very prominent supporters at this time and one who did perhaps more than any other man to win him the nomination, was William McKinley. L[illegible] P. Morton was nominated for Vice-President.

On September 11, General Harrison formally accepted the nomination. In his letter he touched upon the main points of difference between the Republican and the Democratic party and showed his supporters just where he stood. He was an opponent of the Mills Bill. It was to his mind but a step towards free trade in the English sense, and against this he maintained that a protective tariff was "constitutional, wholesome and necessary." "We do not offer," he said, "a fixed schedule, but a principle.

We will revise the schedule, modify rates, but always with an intelligent provision as to the effect upon the domestic production and the wages of our working people." He dreaded a low tariff as that would mean larger importation and less work and lower wages for his countrymen. He expressed himself strongly in his letter against the importation of contract labour. He would support vigorously the contracts in force, and would make even more strenuous laws against the importation of cheap labour. He was most decided on the matter of Chinese immigration; he would stop all further introduction of Chinese into his country, and would see that the laws in force against that people were faithfully executed. Ever since the reconstruction of the Southern States very barefaced frauds had been practised in connection with the ballot. These frauds culminated in the fiasco of the Hayes-Tilden election. On this matter he said, "every constitutional power should be used to make this right secure, and punish frauds upon the ballot." He closed his letter with words which showed that there was no narrow provincialism in him. He was anxious that his country should be recognised as one of the first Powers of the world. He wished the friendliness and respect of the foreign Powers. "Our nation," he said, "is too great, both in material strength and in moral power, to indulge in bluster or to be suspected of timorousness."

His letter was a strong one and one that showed his party that they had made no mistake in the man they were attempting to place at the head of their country. He had proved himself a good soldier, an able senator, and they had every reason to believe that his record as President would be equally good.

It may seem that the party were not wise in select-

ing a man so little known to the country, but he had pronounced himself so as to leave no doubt as to his attitude on the leading questions. For instance, in February, 1888, he discussed, at length, the tariff question in such a way as to win the votes of the American producers and the American workmen. He then declared himself in favour of a protective tariff and denounced free trade or a tariff for revenue only as involving a sudden and severe cut in the wages of the working men and women of this country. He had likewise pronounced himself on naval and military affairs. He saw clearly the needs of coast defense. It was to him absurd that it was possible for some "third rate Power of South America" to put the cities of his country, by means of their ironclads, under contribution. He would go farther than this, he would have a navy constructed that would be capable of holding its own with the great navies of the old world. "I would like to feel," he said, "that no third-rate Power, aye, no first-rate Power, could sail into our defenseless harbours and lay our great cities under tribute." He had already in the Senate pronounced himself a bimetallist, had favoured civil service reform, and in his criticism of President Cleveland on the matter of pensions had showed that, no matter what it would cost his country, he would have the men who saved his country in the time of her dire need and the widows and orphans of such men adequately provided for and would not permit them to be treated in their old days as outcasts and paupers.

On several occasions he was guilty of playing to the gods in his speeches, and particularly at Indianapolis, at the banquet in honour of Messrs. O'Connor and Osmond. There is no doubt, judging from any

of his speeches, that he had but little affection for England. The execution of Thomas Harrison by the Royalists, the strong stand his ancestors took against the mother-country in the Revolutionary war, the battles of his grandfather against the Indians, who were largely incited by the British, and against the British themselves in Canada, did not a little to make him regard England as the natural enemy of his country. Certainly his words at the Indianapolis banquet referred to were not the words of a great statesman; and when he said "I would rather be William O'Brien in Tullamore jail, a martyr of free speech, than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin Castle," he spoke without either knowledge or judgment.

However, he had been outspoken and sincere and the country knew just where he stood.

The Republican platform was a remarkably shrewd one for catching votes. It appealed to the Irish by expressing a hope that the fellow citizens of Irish birth would soon see Home Rule established in Ireland. It appealed to the manufacturers by advocating the maintenance of the protective system and by denouncing the Mills Bill. It appealed to the working classes by declaring its hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labour and of Chinese labour. It appealed to all classes excepting the wealthy capitalists by denouncing trusts and combines. It appealed to the religious by declaring itself against the powers exercised by the Mormon Church in the Territories. It appealed to the patriotic by advocating increased naval expenditure and by expressing its intention of doing what it could to once more build up the American merchant marine.

In fact there was no party in the nation to which it did not appeal.

After accepting the nomination General Harrison remained at his home in Indianapolis, while his party was energetically working throughout the length and breadth of the country for his election. He, however, was not idle. Delegations from various States and cities and classes of the people made pilgrimages to his home, and to each one he said the appropriate word. He was not afraid to speak, and his utterances at this time did not a little to make the country have confidence in him. When the November election came round, it was found that his work had been well done and that the Democrats were unable to hold the country. The Republicans had been out of office for four short years when Harrison found himself elected to the White House.

His inaugural address delivered March 4, 1889, was easily his masterpiece. In it he repeated the position taken by the Republicans at the Convention at which he was nominated. He took his stand firmly for a protective system, and while doing so pointed out the danger there might be from a treasury surplus, but thought that at the same time it would be possible to reduce the revenues without breaking down the protective system or injuring the industries of the country. In this address, too, he asserted his adherence to the principles contained in the Monroe Doctrine, but foreshadowed increased friendly relationship with all the great Powers. He was as ardent in his address for civil service reform as President Hayes had been and as vigorous an upholder of a strong naval policy as President Arthur. His attitude on the pension laws had done not a little to elect him, and he took this opportunity

of emphasising the need of giving "more adequate and discriminating relief to the Union soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans." As has already been pointed out he had ever been a partisan, but in this hour of triumph he could be generous and in closing his inaugural address he said:

"Let us exalt patriotism and moderate our party contentions. Let those who would die for the flag on the field of battle give a better proof of their patriotism and a higher glory to their country by promoting fraternity and justice. A party success that is achieved by unfair methods or by practices that partake of revolution is hurtful and evanescent, even from a party standpoint. We should hold our different opinions in mutual respect, and, having submitted them to the arbitrament of the ballot, should accept an adverse judgment with the same respect that we would have demanded of our opponents if the decision had been in our favour."

He began his term at a time when no really great questions were attracting the attention of the country, and, indeed, throughout his whole period in the Capital there was political calm.

The question of the Behring Sea Rights was the first to receive his attention. On March 22, 1889, the Behring Sea was closed to all nations and the President issued a proclamation prohibiting the killing of fur animals within Alaska without a special permit from the United States.

The first year of his office had no other questions of importance, and when he presented his message to Congress in December he had really but two matters of importance to speak about; the one, a hope that the Pan-American Conference would be the means of establishing better international relations and a

permanent peace on the American continent; the other, a warning with regard to the revenue. It was then $5,000,000 over the expenditures and a reduction in the revenues should, he thought, be made, but in such a way as not to injure the manufacturers of the country.

The year 1890 had several matters of more importance; and, indeed, to the legislation of this year was largely due the defeat of President Harrison at the next general election. It was in this year that William McKinley brought forward his tariff bill, which after much discussion and able consideration was agreed on by both Houses. In July of this year, too, the Sherman Silver Bill was approved of by the President. This bill provided that there should be a monthly purchase of four million five hundred thousand ounces of silver with certificates to be issued as a full legal tender and that two million ounces were to be coined monthly until July 1, 1891; after that date as much coin as should be necessary to redeem outstanding certificates.

While in the Senate General Harrison had been a sturdy advocate for the admission of the Territories to the Union, and, in 1890, the Dakotas, Montana, and Washington came into the great family of States.

The high tariff had been the means of bringing in an enormous revenue to the country, so much so that the President in his annual message was once more forced to deal with the question, pointing out the necessity of tariff revision in the light of the fact that the revenue would probably be $83,000,000 greater than the expenditure for that year.

So far he had had practically nothing but domestic affairs to deal with; he was now called upon to deal with several questions of international interest. In

1891 there was a civil war in Chili, and the United States was drawn into the affair through a conflict between a Chilian mob and some United States sailors. However, the matter was amicably settled by arbitration, and in the following year the Chilian government apologised to the United States. In this year, too, it was decided to submit to arbitration the Behring Sea differences between the United States and Great Britain; and France, Sweden and Italy were called in as the arbitrators. There was for a time slight friction with the Italian government. The Italian secret assassination society known as the Mafia had found its way to America, and in New Orleans had murdered a police officer. Arrests were made and the culprits were acquitted by means, it is said, of bribing the jury; but the mob took the law into its own hands, broke into the jail, shot nine of the accused and hanged two. The Italian government appealed to the United States, but the Secretary of State said that the Federal government could not interfere in the matter, as it was entirely under the control of the State. The Italian minister at Washington was recalled, but this difficulty, too, was settled by the payment by the United States of $25,000 damages.

When the Minneapolis Republican Convention met in 1892, President Harrison was renominated, but was beaten at the polls by Grover Cleveland by a very large majority. He had made an excellent President, and as no critical question had agitated the nation during his term of office many wondered why the country had turned so overwhelmingly against him and his party. There were, however, several excellent reasons. He was never a strikingly strong man, and in the opinion of many James G.

Blaine had been the real President of the United States. Again there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with several things in his government. He had expressed himself most emphatically for civil service reform, but the people saw no reform; the spoils system went on as vigorously as under any of his predecessors. He had, too, declared that the veterans of the Civil war should be provided for, but the nation began to look with distrust on the very ample provision that was being made for them. Corporal Tanner had been appointed Commissioner of Pensions, and while he held office raised the pension payments from $53,000,000 to $80,000,000. So great had been the indignation that Tanner was forced to resign. Just at the time of the elections, too, labour strikes were prevalent, and naturally the government was held greatly to blame by the working classes for the need of such strikes. A People's party had been formed and this party nominated General James B. Weaver, and although it had no chance of electing its candidate it did draw many votes away from Harrison. These reasons among others account very largely for his defeat. He, however, did not feel it keenly as he was at the time plunged in deep sorrow. A few days before the election his wife, the companion of his struggle years, had died.

Before President Cleveland was inaugurated another question of importance came before President Harrison for his consideration. Difficulties had arisen in the Hawaiian Islands, and the American element in the population had arisen in rebellion and dethroned Queen Liliuokalani. The American Minister proclaimed a protectorate "for the preservation of life and property." A provisional government was formed, and a force of United States marines

was landed at the request of this government, and the American flag hoisted over Honolulu. An attempt was made to annex Hawaii to the United States and President Harrison sent a treaty to the Senate to that effect. The Committee on Foreign Relations approved of it, but it failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. The time was not yet ripe for the United States to begin her imperial career. However, American influence was so great in Hawaii that it was evident to many that the annexation of the islands was only a matter of time.

President Harrison delivered his last annual message to Congress December 6, 1892, and in his closing words showed how well he read the future.

"There is no reason why the national influence, power, and prosperity should not observe the same rates of increase that have characterised the past thirty years. We carry the great impulse and increase of these years into the future. There is no reason why, in many lines of production, we should not surpass all other nations, as we have already done in some. There are no near frontiers to our possible development. Retrogression would be a crime."

In the light of the phenomenal development of the United States in the past ten years, in the light of the fact that American manufacturers have found their way into every known country and have in many cases forced themselves into the great manufacturing centres of Europe, these words are worthy of more than passing consideration in estimating the character of President Harrison. In them he proved that he had the chief of all essentials to a statesman, the power of reading the future.

After retiring from the Presidency he returned to Indianapolis, but was shortly afterwards called upon

to deliver a course of lectures on constitutional law in the Leland Stanford, Jr., University of California. In 1896 he married Mrs. Mary Scott Lord Dimmock. Three years later he was appointed by President McKinley Counsel in the Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, and concluded his argument in this case in Paris, September 27, 1899.

He was to see the century out and died March 13, 1901, at the age of sixty-eight. He was never a great man in the sense in which a Gladstone, a Lincoln, or a Jefferson was great, but a good man he ever was, and left behind him a clean record. It was thought by many that he was cold, in fact so much so, that the wags took delight in making jokes at his expense on his lack of enthusiasm, but to those who knew him best he was warm-hearted and kindly.

CHAPTER XXV.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

(Two Administrations, 1897-1901, 1901—).

On September 6, 1901, the American people, and, indeed, the entire civilised world were shocked by the awful crime that was perpetrated in the Temple of Music at the great Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. On that day, in a time of happiness and rejoicing, the last President of the nineteenth century was ruthlessly shot down by a cold-blooded assassin. What reason could there be for the crime? None! In the case of Lincoln the bitter feeling in the South, and the constant threats against the man who had destroyed the rebels' plans make his assassination at least intelligible; but in the case of McKinley no cause could possibly be given; he was one of the people and had never been in any sense of the word tyrannical or over-bearing in his high office.

When the character of the Presidential office is considered and the fact that in the last thirty-six years three presidents have been slain, it would almost seem that, in a sense, Democratic government was a failure, that it would be necessary to hedge the President about with some of the safeguards that surround the crowned rulers of Europe. But even if

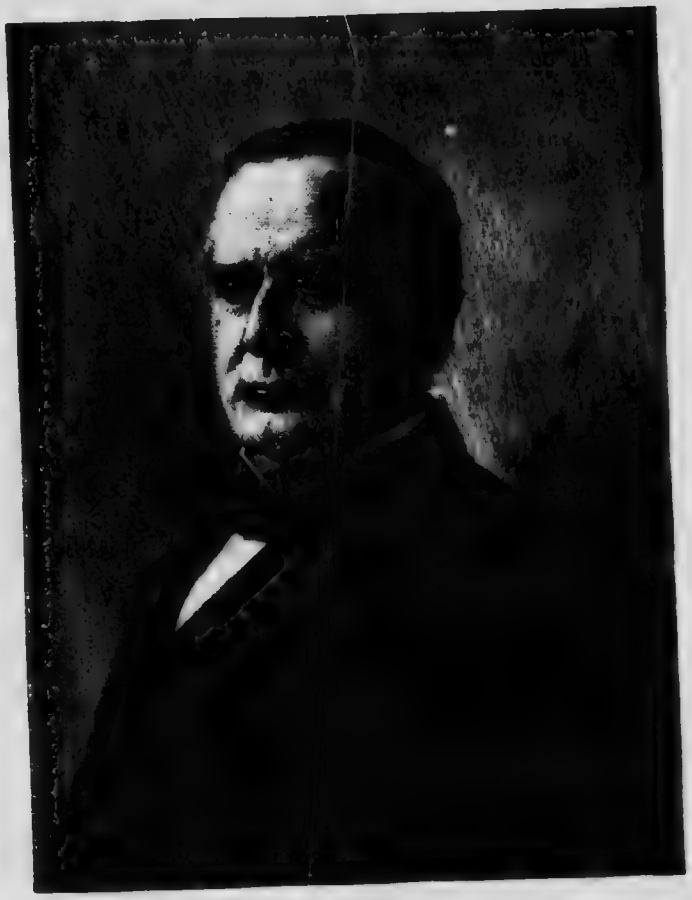
this were done would the President be more secure, would it not rather be but an incentive for crack-brained social theorists to make further attempts on his life? The strangest thing about this assassination was that the murderer was not the only one capable of viewing with pleasure his dastardly deed. Over in Europe anarchists in their folly met at the time of Czolgosz's execution and rejoiced that one of their kind had been brave enough to slay a tyrant. Poor benighted creatures, only making the lot of those they would free from the rule of oligarchies, aristocracies, monarchies and plutocracies the harder. As such a deed is contemplated we are almost forced to believe that the world is run by cruel chance; but the sublime faith of the dying man, "God's will, not ours be done," gives us a more hopeful point of view.

William McKinley, who was thus cruelly taken off, was the President who was to see the nineteenth century with its infinite progress out, and the twentieth century with its even greater promise in. He was born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, January 29, 1843. He was of Scotch-Irish stock, his ancestors having emigrated to this country in the early part of the eighteenth century. His great-grandfather David McKinley fought through the Revolutionary war, and his grandfather James McKinley served in the War of 1812 under General William Henry Harrison, and took part in the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe. His ancestors were humble toilers who in the latter part of the eighteenth century settled in the promising young State of Ohio. His father, William McKinley, Sr., was a young iron-founder and his mother Nancy Allison a farmer's daughter. They were both energetic workers and,

while not rich, were at the time of their illustrious son's birth in well-to-do circumstances.

For a time they remained at Niles where their children were educated in the village school, and William, a thoroughly energetic youth, enjoyed himself picking berries, skating, and fishing in Mosquito Creek along with the other boys of the village. But Niles had not good educational advantages, and, for their children's sake, the McKinleys removed to Poland where there was an excellent Academy. At Poland, too, there was a debating club called the "Edward Everett Society," and as William McKinley was a very active member of this society no doubt a good deal of his forensic ability was due to the interest he took in its debates. At the age of sixteen he was sufficiently far advanced to matriculate at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania. He set out for this institution like every other young freshman with high hopes, seeing the world at his feet, but unfortunately he was not in good health and had scarcely begun his college course when he was forced to return home. Hard times visited the United States and his father felt the effect of them: so much so that when William was robust enough to return to college he was not in a financial position to send him back. However his son was not to be thwarted in his ambition, and like many another lad entered the teaching profession as a stepping stone to a career. He taught school in a district school several miles out of Poland and received the magnificent salary of $25 a month; however, as he "boarded round," it was a little better than that.

After several years' teaching he made up his mind to return to college to finish his course, but just when he had resolved to take this step Sumter was



WILLIAM McKINLEY

fired upon and surrendered and the call for volunteers was sent forth by President Lincoln.

Ohio made a loyal response to this call offering more volunteers than she was asked for, and William McKinley was one of the first to enroll his name,—the fighting blood of his great-grandfather David and his grandfather James was in his veins. His name was enrolled in Company E of the 23rd Regiment of Ohio Volunteers. In this regiment were several men who were to rise to high distinction both in the army and the State. The colonel of it was William S. Rosecrans, and its major, a no less distinguished person than Rutherford B. Hayes. The regiment enlisted for three months' service, and at once set out for Columbus, but before it reached that place the 75,000 men requested by Lincoln had been more than enrolled. However, a second call went up almost at once,—this time not for three months but for three years' service, and the 23rd responded to a man.

For the next fourteen months William McKinley was to be a private in the ranks. The summer and autumn of 1861 were to be spent in chasing an elusive foe, and the Ohio volunteers experienced much marching, considerable guerrilla warfare and many privations, but no heavy fighting. Young McKinley had been several times under fire, receiving his baptism at Carnifex Ferry, September 10, 1861. The hardships endured by the men began to tell on them, many were smitten down with malarial fever and by other diseases, and it was fortunate for them that they were able to spend the winter in drilling and recruiting. In the spring of 1862 they were in West Virginia still trying to cut off Confederate bands, but, on May 8, were themselves compelled to beat a

somewhat hasty retreat. All through the summer, and indeed through the entire year, they had much of the drudgery of war with but little of its glory, excepting for their great fights at South Mountain and Antietam. They, however, did excellent work, —on one occasion making a forced march of no less than 104 miles on foot in three days. It was thought that the capital was in danger and the 23rd was one of the regiments hurried to its protection. That William McKinley was doing good work, requiring intelligence, is evidenced by the fact that he was appointed commissary sergeant to the regiment on April 19, 1862, when he was only nineteen years old.

At the beginning of September things began to look more hopeful for the Union. Lee was becoming bolder and McClellan felt that he was strong enough to attack him. The 23rd was hurried from Washington to engage in the great fight that was to take place at South Mountain and Antietam. That they were now a veteran regiment is evident from this description of the work done by them, given in the Hon. Whitelaw Reid's book, *Ohio in the War.*

"At South Mountain the regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes (General J. D. Cox, commanding division), was the first infantry engaged, being the advance of the column on that day. It was ordered at an early hour to advance by an unfrequented road leading up the mountain and to attack the enemy. Posted behind stone walls the enemy, in greatly superior force, poured a destructive fire of musketry, grape, and canister into our ranks at very short range in a very short space of time. Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes, Captain Skiles, and Lieutenants Hood, Ritter, and Smith were each badly wounded (Colonel Hayes' arm broken; Captain

Skiles shot through the elbow, arm amputated; Ritter, leg amputated); and over 100 dead and wounded lay upon the field out of the 350 who went into the action.

"The command now devolved upon Major Comly, and remained with him from that time forward. The enemy suddenly opened fire from the left, and the regiment changed front on first company. Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes soon after again made his appearance on the field, with his wound half-dressed, and fought, against the remonstrances of the whole command, until carried off. Soon after the remainder of the brigade came up, a gallant charge was made at the hill, and the enemy was dislodged and driven into the woods beyond. In this charge a large number of the enemy were killed with the bayonet. During the remainder of the day the regiment fought with its division. Three bayonet charges were made by the regiment during the day, in each of which the enemy were driven off with heavy loss.

"During the day the 23rd lost nearly 200, of whom almost one-fourth were killed on the field or afterward died of wounds. Only seven men were unaccounted for at the roll call after the action. The colours of the regiment were riddled and the blue field almost completely carried away by shells and bullets.

"At Antietam the regiment fought with the Kanawha division. Near the close of the day a disastrous charge was made by the division (the 23rd occupying the right of the first brigade), by which the left of the division was exposed to a strong force of the enemy, who suddenly emerged from a corn-field in rear of the left. The colours of the regiment were in-

stantly shot down, at the same time a feint was made in the front. A battery in the rear opened fire on the advancing column of the enemy, by which also the national forces sustained more loss than the enemy. After a moment's delay the colours were planted by Major Comly on a new line at right angles to the former front, and without waiting for any further order the regiment, at a run, formed a line in a new direction and opened fire on the enemy, who for some cause retired. Little damage was done by the enemy except a few captures from the left. The division soon after withdrew, but through some inadvertency no order reached the 23rd, and it remained on the field until Colonel Scammon (commanding the division) came back and ordered it to the rear.

"Almost exhausted by several days' hard fighting, the regiment was ordered to support a battery of General Sturgis' division during the night and was not relieved until the afternoon of the next day."

Connected with the commissariat department it was not to be expected that Sergeant McKinley would be exposed to the severe fighting of those historical days. However, there was no soldier who ran greater risks than did he at Antietam. In every army there are a number of men, who, largely from physical constitution, are unable to face the deadly fire, and so become "stragglers." William McKinley made use of these, setting them to work to prepare hot coffee for the troops in the firing line, and when it was ready he boldly rode on the battle-field exposing himself to a heavy fire to bring this much needed comfort to the men. There is nothing that requires greater courage than such a deed; going into battle with a rifle in hand is not nearly as cour-

ageous. Then the excitement of the fight, the desire to bring down an enemy makes the soldier forget his own danger, but going in, as it were, unarmed, an almost sure target, requires a courage that is given to but few men. The water-carriers, the ammunition-men and the stretcher-bearers are among the real heroes of any great battle. His conduct on this day did not go unnoticed, and when it was reported he was very promptly promoted to the rank of lieutenant.

After the fight at Antietam the 23rd continued to be engaged in West Virginia endeavouring to clear up the Confederate forces operating there. They still had much marching to do, but were in no great battles until the Spring of 1864. In the meantime William McKinley received further promotion being appointed a first lieutenant, and selected by General Hayes for his staff.

In 1864 the war took on a new phase. Grant was then the general-in-chief of the Union Army and in the energetic campaign which he planned the 23rd was to play its part. All through the severe fighting of May, June and July, it did good work, enduring much severe marching—the hardest thing in war. On one occasion it covered no fewer than 180 miles in nine days with but little food, and during this entire time was exposed to an aggravating fire.

Young McKinley throughout the stiff fighting which took place during this year in the Shenandoah Valley distinguished himself time and again. On one occasion Hayes, who was very fond of him, despatched him with most important orders. He was forced to ride through a hail of bullets but he did his work fearlessly: when he returned to his com-

mander Hayes could but confess, "I never expected to see you in life again."

The Confederate General Early, against whom General Crook with the Eighth corps was operating, had numerically a much superior force, and as a result the corps lost heavily, the wonder being that it was not annihilated. General Hayes' brigade lost during this campaign one-fourth in killed and wounded. On one occasion in a retreat Lieutenant McKinley was given a good opportunity to show his character. In the retreat he came upon four abandoned guns with their caissons, a sad sight for any soldiers. He felt that an effort should be made to bring these guns safely off, and received permission to appeal to his company of the 23rd to assist him in the work. They volunteered to a man, the whole regiment joined in the work, and the guns were saved.

On July 25, he was raised to the rank of Captain. He was now in Sheridan's division and the fighting and marching was to continue. He distinguished himself in the battle of Opequan as General Crook's staff officer, carrying orders hither and thither under heavy fire. The following incident well illustrates the character of this boy Captain:

"Crook had sent McKinley with verbal orders to General Duval to move his division into action. Duval on receiving the orders, not knowing the country, asked: 'By what route shall I move my command?' Captain McKinley replied: 'I would move up this creek.' Duval's answer was: 'I will not budge without definite orders.' McKinley then decisively said: 'This is a case of great emergency, General. I order you, by command of General

Crook to move your command up the ravine to a position on the right of the army.'"

The order was obeyed and the movement was successfully executed. He was present at Cedar Creek when Early attacked Sheridan's army under Wright. Sheridan was twenty miles away at Winchester. Fearing disaster for his corps he made his famous ride, met his retreating troops, reformed the broken line and smashed Early's army. On this occasion he was greatly helped by Captain McKinley. The young staff officer rode hither and thither along the broken line letting the retreating Union soldiers know of the presence of Sheridan who was worth to them many pieces of artillery. For his conduct at the battles of Opequan, Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill President Lincoln appointed him on March 13, 1865, a brevet major.

He was to see no more fighting. He received a staff appointment on the staff of General S. S. Carroll at Washington, and was in the capital at the time when Lee surrendered at Appomattox and the war practically closed.

Now that the war was over he began to look about him for a calling in life. He had no profession that he could fall back upon. He was too ambitious to take to labouring with his hands for his bread as his fathers had done. He was sorely tempted to remain in the army. The authorities pointed out to him what splendid opportunities there would be for a man of his experience, standing, and character but now that fighting had ceased, that the great cause for which he had fought was successful, he had no longer any desire to carry a sword. The army in peace had no attractions for his ambitious spirit.

In July, he returned to Poland and at the advice

of his father decided to begin the study of law. He entered the office of Judge Charles E. Glidden and was admitted to the Bar in 1867 after having completed his law school course in Albany, New York. On the advice of his sister, who was a teacher in Canton, he decided to begin the practice of law in that town. And from that year until his untimely death his life was closely identified with that busy little manufacturing centre.

He was not what could be called a brilliant man. He had won his way so far by dogged determination and sterling honesty, and the things that made him successful in the army were to make him successful in law. He was an ambitious youth, and from the very first year in which he began to practise law he took an interest in the politics of his country. He had proved himself brave on the battle-field, he was now to prove himself quite as brave in the Democratic community in which he had begun his life's work. His father had been a Whig and a Republican, and likewise, it is worthy of note, an upholder of a high protective tariff, and the son from the beginning adopted his principles, and never departed from them. He made his first political speech in 1867. It required courage to do it. In it he favoured giving suffrage to coloured men, a most unpopular idea in the State.

He soon became recognised as a young man of sterling legal ability and his practice grew rapidly. In 1869 the Republican party put him forward as a candidate for district attorney. They did this merely to have a candidate in the field, they had no thought that he would be elected; not so with McKinley, he was not accustomed to failure and made such an energetic canvass that the over-confident

Democrats were badly beaten. Two years later he was in the field again for the same office. He had made an excellent public servant and hoped, on his record, to be re-elected. But the Democrats were not to be caught napping this time. They put a strong man in the field, opposed him with great energy and succeeded in defeating him by a small majority. The energy with which he fought them, and the power he displayed in his speeches brought him prominently before the community as the most promising young lawyer in Canton.

On January 25, 1871, he married Miss Ida Saxton. Miss Saxton was the daughter of a banker of large means, a girl of cultivated mind, brilliant, and widely travelled. That the young lawyer of humble parentage should have won such a girl speaks well for his character. He had now a new incentive in life and for the next five years confined himself almost exclusively to his rapidly increasing law practice, but with each year he grew in reputation with the citizens of Ohio and particularly with the members of the Republican party.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY *(Continued)*.

DURING the decade following the close of the Civil war the United States felt the great drain they had had upon their resources. An enormous debt had rolled up and the Greenback party was advocating repudiation and fiat money. In 1875 Major McKinley, during the campaign for Governor of Ohio between Hayes and Allen, made many strong speeches on the money question showing a sound point of view, ever speaking in favour of honest money and the resumption of specie payments.

His work during this canvass brought him very prominently before the State as a whole, and when the time came round for nominating members for Congress in 1876 he was one of the most likely candidates. Before the nomination he canvassed the congressional district composed of the counties of Carroll, Columbiana, Mahoning and Stark. He put into his canvass the vigour and intelligence he put into everything he did, and, as a result, when the time for nominating representatives arrived he was nominated on the first ballot over a number of older and much better known politicians. His opponent in the campaign was Leslie L. Lanborn, and he succeeded in defeating him in the election in October by a majority of over 3,000 votes.

While he was engaged in his canvass he visited the great Centennial Exposition being held in Philadelphia. He there met Mr. James G. Blaine, with whom he was to be for the future so intimately associated in political life, and Mr. Blaine introduced him to a large audience at the Union Club. The young candidate for congressional honours delivered an address on this occasion which gave him more than a local reputation. He was after this more or less of a marked man.

He entered Congress in December, 1877, and at once began his career of vigorous work, particularly along the line of the tariff. His first address in the House was delivered on December 10, when he was presenting a petition from certain iron-manufacturers of his district, who expressed a desire that Congress would take no action with regard to revising the tariff until the matter had been thoroughly examined. His first great speech on the tariff, however, and the one which was the starting point of his career as the great apostle of a high protective tariff, was delivered on April 15, 1878. In his speech he upheld a protective tariff as opposed to a tariff for revenue only. On this occasion he said: "Home competition will always bring prices to a fair and reasonable level and prevent extortion and robbery. Success, or even apparent success in any business or enterprise, will incite others to engage in like enterprises, and then follows healthful strife, the life of business, which inevitably results in cheapening the article produced."

The sentences just quoted are significant ones. We have very clearly stated his point of view. He was a protectionist solely for the purpose of bringing about increased manufacturing industry in his

own country. His hope was to see tall chimneys and noisy factories in every community. Of course, he recognised that a result of a high protective tariff would be at first to raise the price of goods, but in a vast country like the United States he saw just as clearly that the competition which would of necessity arise would soon cheapen goods, that interstate free trade would to some extent nullify the evil effects there might be in protection.

In 1877, the Democrats were triumphant in Ohio and the Legislature recognising McKinley's power decided to put forth a special effort to relegate him once more to private life. They gerrymandered the State, but failed in their efforts to keep him out of Congress. He was a most energetic canvasser and despite the gerrymander was re-elected to the forty-sixth Congress by 1,234 of a majority. During this Congress he occupied a position on the Judiciary Committee and was a prominent worker and speaker. On April 18, 1879, he opposed the repeal of the Federal election laws in a speech so able that it was issued as a campaign document of the Republican National Committee. He was now recognised in Congress as one of its ablest men. In 1880, he was appointed to succeed President Garfield as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and was made one of the Home Committee of visitors to West Point Military Academy, and had other duties and honours bestowed upon him.

The Ohio Legislature of 1880 restored his congressional district and he was re-elected to Congress by 3,571 of a majority. In this year as the Ohio member of the Republican National Committee he took an active part in General Garfield's campaign for President, speaking with effect in many of the largest

centres of population, thus winning for himself a distinctly national reputation as a politician.

Disaster was soon to come to the Republican party, Garfield was assassinated, the country had not confidence in President Arthur, there was division among the leaders of the party, and as a result, in 1882, the nation went decidedly Democratic. McKinley was however successful for the fourth time in the race for Congress, but by a narrow margin of eight votes. His seat was contested and he was unseated, his opponent Wallace taking his place.

He had before this time expressed himself very strongly on several of the most vital questions of his time. In 1877 he had to consider the matter of free silver. He has been held by some to have been inconsistent on the money question, but his own words give a denial to this accusation. While speaking in the campaign for the Governorship of Ohio, in 1891, he said:

"In 1877 I voted to reinstate the ancient silver dollar as a part of the coinage of the United States. Silver had been stricken from our coinage in 1873—stricken by both political parties, the one just as responsible as the other—and in 1878, being in favour of both gold and silver as money, to be kept at parity, one with the other, I voted for the restoration of the silver dollar. When I did it we had but 8,000,000 silver dollars in circulation. When I did it silver was more valuable than it is to-day. We have 405,000,000 silver dollars to-day, and that is as much as we can maintain at par with gold with the price of silver that prevails throughout the world. I took every occasion to reinstate silver to its ancient place in our monetary system, because I wanted both metals. I am opposed to free and unlimited coinage,

because it means that we will be put upon a silver basis and do business with silver alone instead of with gold, silver, and paper money, with which we do the business of the country to-day—every one of them as good as gold.

"I want to tell the workmen here, and the farmers, that it takes just as many blows of the hammer, it takes just as many strokes of the pick, it takes just as much digging, just as much sowing, and just as much reaping to get a short dollar as it does to get a full dollar."

In the following year he once more expressed himself on this vital question, which was to be the main question in his two campaigns against William J. Bryan, at Philadelphia with no uncertain sound. "There is one thing," he said, "which this country cannot afford to trifle with, and that is its currency, its measure of value, the money which passes among the people in return for their labour and the products of their toil or of their land. There is no contrivance so successful in cheating labour and the poor people of the country as unstable, worthless, and easily counterfeited currency . . . the money of this country should be as national as its flag, as sacred as the national honour, and as sound as the government itself."

As has already been stated, from the beginning of his congressional career he was interested in tariff reform. In the forty-seventh Congress he made a vigorous speech in favour of the protective policy, declaring that protection should never for an instant be abandoned or impaired. He became the leading figure in the protective idea through a speech he made at the Cooper Institute, New York, on the tariff question in 1880. He then said that "while the

Democratic party professed to favour a tariff for revenue with incidental protection, he preferred a tariff for protection with incidental revenue." This way of stating the matter was caught up by the Republicans and became their method of presenting their tariff point of view.

While in Congress in 1882 he took part in a debate on the tariff bill of that year. On this occasion he said:

"The idea" (protection) "travels with industry and is the associate of enterprising thrift. It encourages the development of skill, labour, and inventive genius as part of the great productive forces. Its advocacy is no longer limited to the manufacturer, but it has friends the most devoted among the farmers, the wool-growers, the labourers, and the producers of the land. It is as strong in the country as in the manufacturing towns or the cities; and while it is not taught generally in our colleges, and our young men fresh from universities join with the free trade thought of the country, practical business and every day experience later teach them that there are other sources of knowledge besides books, that demonstration is better than theory, and that actual results outweigh an idle philosophy. But while it is not favoured in the colleges, it is taught in the schools of experience, in the work-shop, where honest men perform an honest day's labour, and where capital seeks the development of national wealth. It is, in my judgment, fixed in our national policy, and no party is strong enough to overthrow it.

"When the South depended upon the labour of the slaves and employed little or no free labour it was as earnest an advocate of free trade as is England to-day. Now that it must resort to free labour, it is

placed upon the same footing as Northern producers; it is compelled to pay a like rate of wages for a day's work and therefore demands protection against the foreign producer, whose product is made or grown by cheap labour. And we find, all through the South, a demand for protection to American industry against a foreign competition, bent upon their destruction and determined to possess the American market.

"Free trade may be suitable to Great Britain and its peculiar social and political structure, but it has no place in this republic where classes are unknown and where caste has long since been banished; where equality is the rule; where labour is dignified and honourable; where education and improvement are the individual striving of every citizen, no matter what may be the accident of his birth or the poverty of his early surroundings. Here the mechanic of to-day is the manufacturer of a few years hence. Under such conditions, free trade can have no abiding place here. We are doing very well; no other nation has done better or makes a better showing in the world's balance sheet. We ought to be satisfied with the outlook for the future. We know what we have done and what we can do under the policy of protection. We have had some experience with a revenue tariff, which inspires neither hope, nor courage, nor confidence. Our own history condemns the policy we oppose and is the best vindication of the policy which we advocate. It needs no other."

It will be seen from this that he was no theorist; he was a practical politician. The theory of free trade might be all right, and he could conceive a country like England where it would be advisable to adopt such a policy. It was, however, otherwise

with America. He was convinced that protection would be the means of creating many industries within the country and of forcing foreign manufacturers who desired to hold the American market to establish branches of their great industries in the United States. The fact that this has been done would seem to prove that he had made a correct summing up of the situation. English iron-manufacturers, French silk-weavers, English woolen-weavers, Italian marble cutters, etc., have all established themselves not in tens but in hundreds in the United States within the last decade. He believed that everything that was used within the country could be manufactured within the country. He was in this somewhat extreme.

He said in a speech at Petersburg, Va.: "Do you think there would be an idle man in America if we manufactured everything that Americans use? Do you think if we didn't buy anything from abroad at all, but made everything we needed, that every man would not be employed in the United States, and employed at a profitable remuneration? Why, everybody is benefited by protection, even the people who do not believe in it—for they get great benefit out of it, but will not confess it; and that is what is the matter with Virginia. Heretofore she has not believed in it. You have not had a public man that I know of in Washington for twenty-five years, save one, except the Republicans, who did not vote against the great doctrine of American protection, American industries, and American labour; and do you imagine that anybody is coming to Virginia with his money to build a mill or a factory, or a furnace, and develop your coal and your ore—bring his money down here when you vote every time against his interests, and

don't let those that favour them vote at all? If you think so you might just as well be undeceived now, for they will not come."

Here was a practical politician; one who thoroughly believed in his principles, and who could point to evidences in the country to show that for the time being at any rate the results which he had predicted were being realised.

He still continued to be popular in the State, and was elected to Congress in 1884, in 1886, and in 1888.

In the meantime he had been elected delegate-at-large from Ohio to the Republican Nominating Convention in the interests of his friend Mr. James G. Blaine. In 1888 he was again at the Republican Convention as a supporter of John Sherman. He had a narrow escape on this latter occasion from receiving the nomination for President himself. He was in luck, however, for had he allowed his name to stand at this time he would doubtless have met defeat. There was at this convention a repetition of the scenes that occurred when General Garfield received the nomination. He was there in support of John Sherman and on ballot after ballot he received several votes, but took the matter as a joke until it looked as though there was likely to be a stampede in his favour. At length he had a majority of the votes, and it seemed as if the nomination would be his, but he had no desire for it; he was there in the interests of John Sherman and when he saw the danger that threatened him—for so he must have considered it at that time—he decidedly refused to accept the nomination.

"I am here," he said, "as one of the chosen representatives of my State. I am here by resolution of

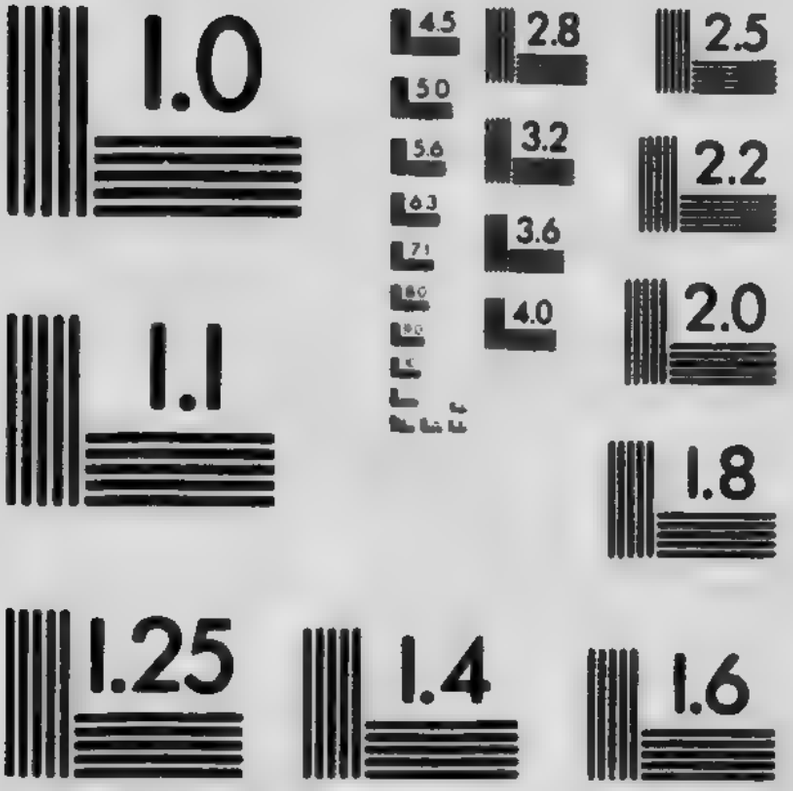
the Republican State Convention, passed without a single dissenting vote, commanding me to cast my vote for John Sherman for President and to use every worthy endeavour for his nomination. I accepted the trust because my heart and my judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me for President. I am not insensible to the honour they would do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me, I cannot remain silent with honour.

"I cannot, consistently with the wish of the State whose credentials I bear and which has trusted me; I cannot with honourable fidelity to John Sherman; I cannot, consistently with my own views of personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention. I would not respect myself if I should find it in my heart to do so, or permit to be done, that which would ever be ground for any one to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do not request, I demand, that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me."

He was to have another such experience as delegate-at-large to the National Convention of 1892. He was even more prominent in his party than when he was at the National Convention in 1888, and was appointed Permanent Chairman of the Convention. He believed General Harrison entitled to another term, and worked for his success. Harrison had many opponents in the Republican party, and these men hoped by bringing forward the name of McKinley himself to defeat the re-nomination of Harrison.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

When the roll call was made it was found that Harrison had 535, McKinley 182, Thomas B. Reed 4, and Robert T. Lincoln 1. McKinley promptly left the chair moved that the nomination of Harrison be made unanimous, and his motion carried. He would have been very blind, indeed, had he not seen that it was only a matter of time till he should be the candidate of his party for the Presidency.

It is now necessary to go back and look at the work he had been doing in Congress. He continued to deal there with every question of importance that was presented. In 1886 he spoke on arbitration as the best means of settling disputes, and in the same year made a most vigorous speech on the payment of pensions and the surplus in the treasury. His most brilliant work, however, was done in his attack on the Mills' Tariff Bill, in which were embodied President Cleveland's views. His speech on this occasion was said by an admiring friend, to be the "most effective and eloquent tariff speech ever heard in Congress." So able was it that it practically became the Republican text book in the next campaign and millions of copies were distributed throughout the Union. On the occasion of his return to Congress for the seventh time, he was a candidate for Speaker, but was beaten on the third ballot in the Republican caucus by Thomas B. Reed. Shortly after this Judge Kelley died and he became the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. In this capacity he made one of the ablest leaders the Republican party ever had in the House.

During the session of 1889-90 he was busy working on the great McKinley Tariff Bill, and through this and his previous work with regard to the tariff, was recognised by the Democrats as a decidedly dan-

gerous man. A determined effort was made to put him out of public life. The Ohio Legislature which was strongly Democratic once more gerrymandered his district. From the beginning he saw that it would be almost impossible to be re-elected, but he courageously faced the situation, made one of the most determined canvasses of his career, and though beaten by 302 votes, greatly pulled down the Democratic majority in the district.

The bill, which he fathered, in the meantime went on its course. The committee worked on it from December, 1889, till April, 1890. It came up for consideration on May 7, and for three days was hotly debated. When the vote was taken on this important bill it stood, for it 164 Republican votes, against it, 141 Democratic votes and 1 Populist. It finally passed the Senate on September 30. It had called forth speeches by such able men as Carlisle, Breckinridge, Mills, etc., and the country was stirred up in anticipation. It, however, never had an opportunity to show what it might do, as before it was in working operation the elections came, and with the success of the Democrats the principles it advocated were for the time being set aside.

Although McKinley was defeated in the Congressional election of 1890, the defeat only meant greater political honour for him. In the following year he was nominated by the Republicans by acclamation for Governor of the State, and began, on August 1, a vigorous campaign. He visited nearly every county in the State and made in all 134 speeches. He never appeared to greater advantage, and in dealing with the question nearest his heart, protection, did it so eloquently that he won thousands of voters. So well did he do his work, that at the election

he beat Governor Campbell by a majority of 21,000 votes.

During his first term of office he proved himself essentially a business governor, giving much attention to the financial condition of the State. He was as he had ever been, the friend of the toiler, and made recommendations for protection to steam and electric railroad employees. So well did he hold himself in his high office that when the time for again electing a Governor for Ohio came round he was re-nominated by the Republicans by acclamation. This was in a time of panic; the second Cleveland administration had just begun, and the business depression throughout the country greatly helped him to defeat his Democrat opponent, Hon. L. T. Teal.

In his second campaign for Governor he took his stand against free trade and free silver. The contest was not along State lines, but along National lines, and the whole country watched with the greatest interest the campaign in Ohio. By it the nation was able to form a good judgment as to how the country would swing at the next general election. The successful election of McKinley was the pulse beat that told the state of the body politic. He was even more successful than in his first campaign for Governor, winning with a majority of 80,955 votes.

During his second term he continued to work on behalf of the labouring classes. He was influential in having a State Board of Arbitration established in Ohio and in having important legislation brought forward "for the better protection of life and limb in industrial pursuits." While he was Governor there was great distress among the miners of Hock-

ing Valley. He at once hastened to the relief of the starving families, and within twenty-four hours after he heard of the distress had a car-load of provisions on the way to the afflicted district. He was governor at a very critical time. Commercial depression caused numerous strikes, and as a result he was forced to have the troops called out no fewer than fifteen times. On several occasions efforts were made to lynch individuals but Governor McKinley by force prevented the mad mobs from doing their will. He had declared that "lynchings must not be tolerated in Ohio" and he firmly saw that such things did not occur.

During the year 1894, he began, throughout the United States, against the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Law, a series of addresses which attracted a great deal of attention. He spoke for several months daily, and is said to have addressed in all fully two million people.

At this time he met with a misfortune. At the beginning of his political career he had been helped by a banker, Robert L. Walker of Youngstown, Ohio. He had paid back all his loans and besides had accumulated a snug little fortune of about $20,000. This, with his wife's fortune inherited from her father of $75,000, placed him in a position to devote most of his time to his country's welfare. In 1893 Mr. Walker found himself in somewhat straightened circumstances, and desired the Governor to endorse his notes. One thing William McKinley had perhaps beyond all others, gratitude. He remembered the favours done him in his early manhood, and promptly endorsed some $15,000 worth of paper. He had perfect trust in Mr. Walker, who was President of the National Bank, a savings bank, a stamp-

ing mill company, and a stove and range company, and had besides an interest in several coal mines in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and when Mr. Walker came to him again requesting him to endorse a number of notes for the purpose of taking up the notes which he had first endorsed he did so without hesitation. The collapse came; Walker was unable to meet his obligation and the Governor found himself liable for nearly $100,000.

He faced the situation with his usual bravery. He and his wife at once made an assignment of their property to be used for the benefit of Walker's creditors. The character of Governor McKinley was so well known that the sterling honesty and the integrity of the man appealed to all hearts in his hour of misfortune. A fund was started, but his sense of pride kept him from at first accepting the money that was sent him. A number of personal friends now decided that he must be saved from the drudgery of endeavouring to once more build up a fortune. He was too useful a man to his party to be allowed to retire to private life and the world of commerce. He refused this offer, too. However, his friends had been wily; the subscriptions were for the most part anonymous, and he did not know to whom to return the money. It is said that until the time of his death with four or five exceptions he never knew who contributed to this fund. As a result of this generosity all Walker's notes were met, Mrs. McKinley's fortune was left intact, and the Governor had his fortune of $20,000 with interest added, returned to him.

There is something noteworthy in this. It is rare, indeed, in public life that a man is so generously treated. For the most part when a man meets with

a great business reverse the world at large is ready to find fault with him for his misfortune. His lack of business capacity is held up against him, and if he be a politician his misfortune is too often used to do him an injury before the country. Why trust a man with the affairs of a nation who had proved so unwise in his own affairs? The helping hand given to Governor McKinley in his hour of distress is the best possible evidence of the noble character of the man, and the faith that the people of his own State had in him. Such a man despite his business failure was not unworthy of the high office of President.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY (*Continued*).

When the election campaign of 1894 opened Governor McKinley was much in evidence as a campaign orator. He traveled through the States of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan. Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, West Virginia, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. He covered in all some sixteen thousand miles. He was everywhere welcome and addressed great crowds at railroad stations, in public halls, and in the open air. At Chicago he spoke to over 9,000 people, at St. Louis to 7,000; in Kansas 40,000 assembled, in Topeka 24,000, at Omaha, Neb. 12,000, in St. Paul, Minneapolis, 10,000, in Duluth, 15,000, and in Springfield, Illinois, 20,000. His tour through the South was in some ways the most significant part of his great journey. He was received with enthusiasm by the Southerners, and it seemed that at length a Republican capable of healing the wound still left open by the great war had arisen.

When the time came round for nominating candidates for President, William McKinley received the nomination of Ohio at the State Convention held at Zanesville, May 29, 1895. It was not until 1896,

however, that the country at large became excited over the Presidential nominations. There were a number of very prominent men in the field, men with quite as good a career as McKinley,—such men as Thomas B. Reed, Levi P. Morton, Matthew Stanley Quay, and Senator Allison. However the majority of the States supported McKinley and before the St. Louis Convention met it was evident to all that he would be the choice of the Republican party.

At the Convention which opened on June 16, 1896, Senator J. N. Thurston of Nebraska, stated concisely the leading points in the Republican platform. Most important among them were: "A vigorous foreign policy; the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine; a revenue adequate for all governmental expenditures and a gradual extinguishment of the national debt; a currency 'as sound as the government and as untarnished as its honour,' whose dollars, whether of gold, silver or paper, shall have equal purchasing and debt paying power with the best dollars of the civilised world; a protective tariff which protects, coupled with reciprocity which reciprocates, securing American markets for American products and opening American factories to the free coinage of American muscle; a pension policy just and generous to our living heroes and to the widows and orphans of their dead comrades; the governmental supervision and control of transportation lines and rates; the protection of the people from all unlawful combinations and unjust exactions of aggregated capital and corporate power; . . . . . the exclusion of all whose birth, whose blood, whose conditions, whose teachings, whose practices, would menace the permanency of free institutions, endanger the safety of American society or lessen the oppor-

tunities of American labour; the abolition of sectionalism—every star in the flag shining for the honour and welfare and happiness of every commonwealth and of all the people."

On the following day the proposed platform was read by Senator Foraker of Ohio, its most important clause being: "We are opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement."

The party was not a unit on this particular plank. The western delegates strongly opposed it and Senator Teller of Colorado brought in a minority report favouring the free and unlimated coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. There were 105 votes cast in favour of this report, but the 818 against it showed very conclusively where the Republican party stood on the money question. Senator Teller and some twenty irreconcilables withdrew from the convention on the defeat of their report on the silver question.

After the platform had been adopted Senator W. B. Allison, the Hon. Thomas B. Reed, and Governor Levi P. Morton were all placed in nomination for the Presidency. There was considerable enthusiasm over each candidate, but it was evident that the convention was waiting for one name, and it was not until Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, nominated William McKinley that the enthusiasm reached its height. On mention of his name the wild scenes of rejoicing which seem utterly incomprehensible in a body of men composed of many of the ablest business men and scholars in the Union took place. This nomination was seconded by Senator Thurston whose closing words very well show why McKinley was nominated and why he was afterwards elected.

"On behalf of those stalwart workmen, and all the

vast army of American toilers; that their employment may be certain, their wages just, their dollars the best in the civilised world; on behalf of that dismantled chimney, and the deserted factory at its base; that the furnaces may once more flame, the mighty wheels revolve, the whistles scream, the anvils ring, the spindles hum; on behalf of the thousand cottages round about, and all the humble homes of this broad land; that comfort and contentment may again abide, the firesides glow, the women sing, the children laugh; yes, and on behalf of the American flag and all it stands for and represents; for the honour of every stripe, for the glory of every star; that its power may fill the earth and its splendour span the sky, I ask the nomination of that loyal American, that Christian gentleman, soldier, statesman, patriot, William McKinley."

While these words are the commonplace of rhetoric, it was their substance that made McKinley's election a foregone conclusion. He received the nomination by 661 1-2 votes out of 922.

The Democratic National Convention met in Chicago, July 7. There was far from being unanimity of opinion at this celebrated meeting. Senator Hill and sixteen others endorsed President Cleveland's administration and were at one with the Republican party on the coinage. Senator Tillman, on the other hand, in a very vigorous speech condemned the administration, and there were many present who agreed with his extravagant language. The great issue considered at this convention was the coinage and the Democrats conducted their campaign practically on this plank of their platform alone. "We demand," they said, "the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ra-

tio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." William Jennings Bryan was the most striking figure at the convention; his brilliant oratory, his magnetic personality, his genial character, his grip of the great issues from a Democratic point of view, all making it evident that he was the most likely man to successfully battle for the Presidency. After five ballots he was nominated by 520 votes out of 930.

The campaign began at once, the great silver question required to be presented to the country, and Bryan made one of the most memorable tours ever made by a candidate for the Presidency, speaking with power and conviction and making many converts. His cause, however, from the beginning was a hopeless one. The American people were not prepared to accept the silver platform of the Democratic party in the face of the judgment of the best thinkers in their own country and the ablest students of financial matters in the European world.

Meanwhile Mr. McKinley retired to his Canton home to let the great issues that he advocated and had so ably presented in his grand tour in 1894, win his election for him, or perhaps it would be truer to say to let Marcus A. Hanna keep on pulling the wires that were to place him in the White House. He decided, and rightly, that it was undignified for a man nominated for President of a great and self-respecting nation to go about the country, as it were, begging the votes of constituencies, when the people through the daily press could form their own judgment on the great issues. He was not, however, to escape speech-making. If the mountain would not come to Mohamet, Mohamet would go to the mountain, and so pilgrimages took place to Canton and from the steps of

his house McKinley daily addressed vast crowds. It is said that before the election he spoke to over half a million people who came to Canton to hear him on the questions of the Republican party. When the election took place he beat Bryan by over 600,000 votes, and in the electoral college by 271 against 176. He was inaugurated on March 4, before one of the largest crowds that ever assembled in Washington.

After his inauguration he made known his cabinet. It was composed of the following able and experienced politicians: Secretary of State, John Sherman, of Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois; Secretary of War, General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; Attorney-General, Joseph McKenna, of California; Postmaster-General, James A. Gary, of Maryland; Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson of Iowa. There were a number of subsequent changes in this Cabinet, William R. Day of Ohio, and John Hay, of the District of Columbia succeeded Mr. Sherman; Elihu Root, of New York, General Alger; John W. Griggs, of New Jersey, Mr. McKenna; Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Gary; Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Mr. Bliss.

When Mr. McKinley became President of the United States trade was in a very much depressed condition, the tariff bill was considered as largely responsible for this, although without doubt the country was merely passing through one of these great periods of commercial dullness which follow commercial prosperity just as surely as the valley follows the crest of the wave. He had brought forward

a bill in 1890 from which he had hoped much. He was now placed in power as an advocate of high protection, and the country expected that he would lose no time in putting in practice his theories, and it was not deceived. Two days after his inauguration he showed the nation that he intended to begin work at once. A proclamation was issued calling for an extra session of Congress for March 16. When the Houses met he had read to them a message which was intended to pave the way for his radical tariff changes as propounded in the Dingley Bill which was then in course of preparation.

In this message he said: "It is conceded that its" (the government's) "expenditures are greater than its receipts, and that such a condition has existed for more than three years. With unlimited means at our command, we are presenting the remarkable spectacle of increasing our public debt by borrowing money to meet the ordinary outlays incident upon even an economical and prudent administration of the government. An examination of the subject discloses this fact in every detail, and leads inevitably to the conclusion that the condition of the revenue which allows it is unjustifiable and should be corrected."

After going into the situation very carefully and showing the deplorable condition of the country's trade and finances, he concluded :

"It may be urged that, even if the revenues of the government had been sufficient to meet all its ordinary expenses during the past three years, the gold reserve would still have been insufficient to meet the demands upon it, and that bonds would necessarily have been issued for its repletion. Be this as it may, it is clearly manifest, without denying or af-

firming the correctness of such a conclusion, that the debt would have been decreased in at least the amount of the deficiency, and business confidence immeasurably strengthened throughout the country.

"Congress should promptly correct the existing condition. Ample revenues must be supplied, not only for the ordinary expenses of the government, but for the prompt payment of liberal pensions and the liquidation of the principal and interest of the public debt. In raising revenue, duty should be so levied upon foreign products as to preserve the home market, so far as possible, to our own producers; to revive and increase manufacturing, to relieve and encourage agriculture; to increase our domestic and foreign commerce; to aid and develop mining and building, and to render to labour in every field of useful occupation the liberal wages and adequate rewards to which skill and industry are justly entitled. The necessity of the passage of the tariff law which shall provide ample revenue need not be further urged. The imperative demand of the hour is the prompt enactment of such a measure, and to this object I earnestly recommend that Congress shall make every endeavour. Before other business is transacted let us first provide sufficient revenue to faithfully administer the government without the contracting of further debt or the continued disturbances of our finances."

This message was merely the preliminary to the introduction of the tariff bill of Nelson Dingley, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Since the Presidential election in November this bill had been in preparation, and the President was thus enabled to initiate his policy without any loss of time. In the celebrated McKinley Tariff bill there

had been a reciprocity clause which fell with the bill. A similar clause was now brought forward, it advocated "that whenever the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, with a view to secure reciprocal foreign trade with foreign countries, shall, within the period of two years from and after the passage of this act, enter into commercial treaty or treaties with any other country or countries concerning the admission into any such country or countries of the goods, wares and merchandise of the United States, and their use and disposition therein, deemed to be for the interest of the United States, and in such treaty or treaties, in consideration of the advantages accruing to the United States therefrom, shall provide for the reduction during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of the duties imposed by this Act, and to the extent of not more than twenty per centum thereof, upon such goods, wares, or merchandise as may be designated therein of the country or countries with which such treaty or treaties shall be made, as in this section provided for; or shall provide for the transfer during such period from the dutiable list of this Act to the free list thereof of such goods, wares, and merchandise, being the natural product of such foreign country or countries, and not of the United States; or shall provide for the retention upon the free list of this Act during a specified period, not exceeding five years, of such goods, wares, and merchandise now included in said free list, as may be designated therein; and when any such treaty shall have been ratified by the Senate and approved by Congress, and public proclamation made accordingly, then and thereafter the duties which shall be collected by the United States upon any of

the designated goods, wares, and merchandise from a foreign country, with which such treaty has been made, shall, during the period provided for, be the duty specified and provided for in such treaty and none other."

The Dingley Bill on account of the depression in trade was much welcomed by nearly all classes in the country. The Reciprocity clause, however, met with considerable opposition, particularly from those interested in the sugar industry. The bill was rushed through both Houses, received the signature of the President and with its adoption came commercial prosperity.

Another great question was almost at once to begin agitating the people of the United States. Cuba situated at their very door was bleeding with many wounds. Spain was endeavouring to rule the island with an iron hand. The Spaniard has ever been brutal and callous to human suffering and never more so than in his dealings with Cuba. In 1895, the Cubans willing to sacrifice their lives rather than longer endure the state of affairs existing in the island, broke out into revolt. For several years the struggle had gone on, the insurgents determined not to submit and Spain as determined to crush them. An idea of the character of this fight can be gathered from the examination of the statistics given by the Spanish Minister of War. There were sent to Cuba between November, 1895, and May, 1896, 181,738 men, 6,261 officers and 40 generals. The Spanish Commander-in-Chief was General Weyler. His methods gained for him the name of the "Butcher," and aroused the utmost indignation in America.

The President very wisely did not commit himself on this difficult question. He maintained the atti-

tude of the previous government with regard to filibustering and refused to recognise the Cuban Republic. However, on May 17, he sent a special message to Congress asking aid for the suffering Americans in Cuba, and in his annual message he warned Spain that a time might come when it would be necessary to interfere in Cuba in the name of humanity. Spain became somewhat alarmed, and proclaimed a measure of self-government, November 23, 1897. This the Cubans very promptly rejected. The formal inauguration of the system took place in January,1898, and trouble began at once with renewed vigour between the insurgents and the Spaniards. General Weyler's reconcentration policy shocked the American people and stirred in their hearts a bitter feeling against Spanish rule in Cuba. So intensely were they aroused that the far-seeing predicted war at an early date. But President McKinley remained calm.

About this time a very irritating affair occurred. Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish Minister at Washington, in a letter criticised the President severely, calling him a vacillating and time-serving politician. The letter though private came to the light of day, and Spain was asked to recall the minister. In the meantime De Lôme resigned, Spain expressed regret at his cor[illegible] and sent Señor Polo y Bernabe to succeed hi[illegible] This incident although of a private nature helped to increase the irritation between the two countries.

In January riots occurred in Havana and in order to protect the many Americans residing there the warship "Maine" was despatched to that harbour. She was anchored to a buoy assigned by the authorities, and for three weeks she lay there, execrated by

the Spaniards. On February 15, the famous explosion occurred, and two officers and 258 men were drowned or killed and 58 wounded. The Spanish authorities expressed great regret at the incident but the bulk of the Spanish people, especially those in Havana, openly rejoiced at this shocking tragedy. Whether the "Maine" was destroyed by accident or by design has not yet been definitely settled to the satisfaction of the public or naval experts. The commission appointed to examine into the wreck by the American government decided that she had been destroyed by torpedoes, but the Spanish commission declared that the explosion was from internal causes. The people of the United States had, however, for years been irritated by the brutal treatment of the Cubans by the Spaniards, and it only needed the destruction of the "Maine" to bring them to the point of demanding war. While the President did not act on the destruction of the "Maine," preparations began almost immediately after the tragedy to strengthen the forces of the United States and place the army and navy on a war basis. On the seventh of March two new regiments of artillery were authorised by Congress, and on the ninth of the month, $50,000,000 were voted for national defence. It was further resolved to increase the army to 100,000 men.

On March 23 General Woodford presented a formal note to the Spanish Minister giving him warning that if an agreement assuring "permanent, immediate, and honourable peace" in Cuba were not reached within a few days the President would be forced to submit the whole question to Congress. This was practically a threat that unless Spain acted on the suggestions of Congress war would follow.

In the meantime the press and the people were fiercely clamouring for war. "Remember the Maine" was on every lip. The people as a whole would not listen to the opinion that the explosion was due to accident. It was a bit of Spanish diabolism, and it was very evident that the heart of the nation would know no peace until the Spaniard was driven from the American continent.

In April, Europe began to get nervous, and the ambassadors of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Russia, all expressed to the American government a hope that peace might be maintained and order re-established in Cuba. The President joined in the hope, but left the impression on the ambassadors that unless the situation in Cuba radically changed the United States would be forced to interfere. For a few days longer Spain evaded the President's demands, and, on April 11, the whole matter was laid before Congress, with the words: "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilisation, in behalf of endangered American interests, which gives us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop." He had here taken high grounds ; there was in his message no cry of "Remember the 'Maine.'"

Two days later the House passed a resolution authorising the President to intervene for the pacification of Cuba. In a few days a joint resolution was passed to the same effect, which was at once approved by the Executive. Spain very naturally treated this resolution as a declaration of war and in the early morning of the 21st sent General Woodford his passports before he was able to make the demands of his government known to the Spanish government. The dismissal of General Woodford was accepted by the

United States as the initial act of war, and Congress on the 25th of the month declared, "that war exists and has existed since the twenty-first day of April, A. D. 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain." Spain took the same grounds, and on April 23, in an article spoke of "the state of war now existing between Spain and the United States."

No war was ever entered upon which aroused greater curiosity in the world. On the one hand there was a European Power with a standing army and what was supposed to be a navy; on the other hand there was a great peace power with but a small standing army, and a navy which in the eyes of Europe was a most uncertain quantity. However, the Powers were forced to recognise that what the United States lacked in troops and armaments they made up in intelligence. It was over thirty years since the government of the United States had been compelled to place a large force in the field, but the people went into the war with every confidence that in a few weeks their brainy mechanics and farmers under the splendid officers trained at West Point would be in every way equal to the best soldiers in the regular armies of the old world, and such proved to be the case.

Before briefly scanning the war it would be well to see exactly the grounds on which the President and his Congress decided to force Spain to do justice to the Cubans or to leave this Continent. The following are the resolutions which were passed on April 18:

"Whereas, The abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the Island of Cuba so near to our borders, have shocked the moral

sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilisation, culminating as they have, in the destruction of the United States battle-ship with 266 of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbour of Havana, and cannot longer be endured as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited ; therefore,

"*Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled—

"First—That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"Second—That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"Third—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"Fourth—That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is completed to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

There was no turning back after the President signed these resolutions.

Cuba was at once blockaded by an American fleet and the war was carried into the East by a despatch to Commodore Dewey on the coast of China. It was a brief despatch. "Capture or destroy the Spanish squadron at Manila." Across seven hundred miles of ocean the intrepid admiral rushed his ships, and, as the world knows, carried out his instructions to the letter without the loss of a soldier or sailor. The battle of Manila Harbour made the world realise that the ships of the American navy were equal to the best in the world, and that the American gunners could shoot straight.

The war was now carried to Porto Rico and to Cuba. There was, however, a good deal of delay until the end of June. The European press and the press of the United States kept deriding the government for its slowness of action. But when the large equipment that had to be got together and the number of men who had to be provided for and transported is considered, the wonder is that the work was done so thoroughly and with such swiftness.

Towards the end of May it was known that Admiral Cervera had succeeded in entering Santiago Harbour with a Spanish fleet and Admiral Schley at once proceeded to that part of Cuba and blockaded the harbour. It was not, however, until the first of July that the climax of the struggle was reached. It was then that the battle of El Caney and San Juan took place and the Spaniards were forced within the city. This fight was the only one in which the United States troops suffered severely. Cervera saw how hopeless it would be to keep the Americans out of Santiago, and so determined to steal out of the harbour. The passage had been made difficult by the heroic conduct of Lieutenant Hobson in sinking the

Merrimac in the narrow channel, but on July 3, the attempt was made. Out of the harbour he stole only to have his entire fleet suffer the same fate which had befallen the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay.

The war was not over, however, and it was not until the 17th of the month that the United States troops took possession of Santiago. Before the end of the month General Miles had possession of Porto Rico where the American army was hailed by the people as a delivering host and not as enemies.

When Santiago fell Spain saw how hopeless it would be to continue the struggle, and on the 26th of July, Jules Cambon the French Ambassador at Washington was requested to enquire if peace negotiations might be begun. President McKinley was anxious that the war should be brought to a speedy close and, on the 30th, replied to the note stating the preliminary questions that the United States government would insist upon as a basis of negotiations. On August 12, Secretary Day and Ambassador Cambon signed the protocol of agreement of which the following were the main points :

1. " That Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

2. " That Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, and an island in the Ladrones, to be selected by the United States, shall be ceded to the latter.

3. " That the United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbour of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

4. " That Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish Islands in the West Indies shall be immediately

evacuated, and that commissioners to be appointed within ten days, shall, within thirty days from the signing of the protocol, meet at Havana and San Juan, respectively, to arrange and execute the details of the evacuation.

5. "That the United States and Spain will each appoint not more than five commissioners to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace. The commissioners are to meet at Paris not later than October 1st.

6. "On the signing of the protocol, hostilities will be suspended and notice to that effect be given as soon as possible by each government to the commander of its military and naval forces."

At once hostilities were stopped in Cuba and Porto Rico but unfortunately, as the cable from Hong Kong to Manila had been cut, news of the signing of the protocol did not reach General Merritt and Admiral Dewey until after the land battle of Manila had been fought.

The difficulty between Spain and the United States was now rapidly brought to a conclusion. According to agreement the commissioners of the two Powers met in Paris and continued their negotiations until December 10, when the treaty was signed. By it Spain relinquished her sovereignty over and title to Cuba ; she gave up all her other possessions in the West Indies and Guan in the Ladrones group ; she likewise ceded the Philippines to the United States, on condition that the latter would pay Spain $20,000,000 within three months after the exchange of ratifications of the treaty ; Spanish soldiers were to be transported from Cuba and the Philippines at the expense of the United States. In due time this treaty went through the usual processes and became law.

Scarcely, however, had the war with Spain ceased when the United States found herself with a somewhat more embarrassing struggle on her hands. While the inhabitants of the Philippines were anxious to get rid of Spain, they were not anxious to be ruled by any other civilised power, and so took up arms against the invading troops. However, as they were utterly unfit for self-government no consideration could be given to their demands. And so a long and expensive war, expensive both in treasure and lives, has continued in these islands up to the present time.

The President was most anxious that the situation should be thoroughly sifted, and in order to get an opinion that would be unbiased and above reproach he appointed, in January, a commission consisting of Admiral Dewey, General Otis, President J. G. Schurmann of Cornell University, Professor Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan, and Colonel Charles Denby, for many years U. S. Minister to China to examine into the situation. It was found impossible to consider for a moment handing the government over to the Filipinoes, and the war continued.

During President McKinley's first term several other weighty questions presented themselves. For years the matter of annexing Hawaii had been under consideration, and now that the United States' interests had extended to Asia the need of a station in the Pacific was realised, and with the assistance of the government in Hawaii annexation was rapidly consummated, and in 1900 Hawaii was made a Territory of the United States with a voice in its government.

Complications likewise arose in the Islands of

Samoa. In 1898, King Malietoa died and the inhabitants broke into two parties, one supporting Mataafa, and the other young Malietoa. For ten years Germany, Great Britain and the United States had exercised joint control over the Islands. Between the contending natives and the greedy European powers President McKinley had no easy task. But from a diplomatic point of view the critical situation occurred at a happy moment. England was about to enter upon the great South African war, and she was ready to make concessions to both Germany and the United States : no doubt her action with regard to Samoa at this . . e did not a little to keep the German government n. atral when the mass of the people were execrating England for her interference in the Transvaal. At any rate, among them the Powers abolished kingship in Samoa, and England retired from the islands in view of compensation made by Germany in other quarters, and both Germany and England renounced in favour of the United States all their claims to the islands east of 171°, including Tutuila with the harbour of Pago-Pago.

Thus it will be seen that through the annexation of Hawaii, through the conquest of Spain in the Philippines, and through her action with regard to Samoa, the United States was entering rapidly upon an imperial career from which it would be impossible for her to withdraw, and which would force the world to consider the Monroe Doctrine in a new light. If the United States could hold possessions in the East had she any right to keep the European Powers from interfering in American affairs ? Whether she had or not the government of the United States still stood by the Monroe Doctrine, and they had, and the

world knew that they had, the strength to make their contention good.

Before the end of the term still another great occasion was to demand the wisdom of the President. In the summer of 1900 the foreign legations at Pekin, China, were besieged by the "Boxers," and into this struggle the United States was drawn, and her troops fought gallantly shoulder to shoulder with the troops of Russia, Germany, France, England, and Japan. When the "Boxers" were at length put down, President McKinley acted as a great moral force in preventing excessive demands on the part of what might not be unjustly termed the predatory Powers of Europe.

When the first Presidential term of William McKinley is examined it must be evident to the most careless observer that the last President of the century had to consider more far reaching matters than any other President of the century, and that in no situation was his judgment at fault. He never acted in haste ; he weighed every matter calmly and displayed the greatest possible wisdom in selecting his advisers. In making appointments on commissions, for example, he seemed to be able to sink party prejudice and endeavoured to select men of known worth and ability. As a result his whole presidential term is without anything that could reflect on his moral character.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY (*Concluded*).

When the National Republican Convention met in Philadelphia, on June 19, 1900, there was no doubt as to who would be nominated for President. William McKinley had served his country well in times of many difficulties, he had grown in the estimation of the nation, his hands were clean, no word during his entire term had been uttered against his personal character, and, as has ever been the custom when the President has served his country faithfully and well, the Republicans had decided to renominate him for the Presidency. Apart from this there were other reasons why it was fitting that he should continue in the White House. Great questions had arisen during the last four years, the nation had just passed through a trying and costly war, and there was still much to be done to clear up the situation occasioned by this war. What should be done with Cuba had yet to be considered, and the course to be followed in the Philippines had not been fully and finally decided upon. It would have been as unwise to allow President McKinley to retire into private life in 1900, as it would have been to have rejected the renomination of Abraham Lincoln in 1864, when the great Civil war was still unfinished.

The two great questions that were at this time agitating the nation were the Trusts and the Imperial Policy of the United States. The government had firmly decided to keep faith with Cuba and to grant the island independence. It was otherwise with the Philippines. They were not fit for independence. It would be necessary first to go through the slow process of civilising them.

The question of imperialism and the great trade question were really the only things agitating the nation at this time. The silver issue which had played such an important part in the previous Presidential campaign was on this occasion more or less of a side issue.

The temporary chairman of the Philadelphia Convention, Senator Wolcott, admirably stated the position of his country when he said : " Our way is new, but it is dark. In the readjustment of world conditions, where we must take our place with the other great nations of the earth, we shall move with caution, but not with fear. We seek only to lift up men to better things, to bless and not to destroy. The fathers of the Republic accepted with courage such responsibility as devolved upon them. The same heavens bend over us, and the same power that shielded them will guard and protect us, for what we seek is to build still more firmly, always upon foundations of probity and virtue, the glorious edifice of the Republic."

Vague as these words are they very adequately state the position of the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. Her way is truly new, and it is dark ; but of one thing mankind can be assured that from the high state of civilisation she herself has attained, she is in a fitter condition than

any of the other Powers to take up "the white man's burden," to extend her imperial sway, and to civilise and Christianise the world. It was fitting that at a period when she was beginning a new epoch in her history a man of integrity, wisdom and power should be at her head, a man who had surrounded himself with wise councillors.

The following was the platform of the Republican Party as stated in a late life of President McKinley:

The party endorsed President McKinley's administration; asserted its allegiance to the gold standard and its steadfast opposition to the free coinage of silver; condemned conspiracies and combinations to restrict business; reaffirmed its policy of protection and reciprocity; declared for more effective restriction of immigration of cheap labour; and upheld civil service reform.

"It declared that there would be no discrimination on account of race or colour; stood for good roads, rural free delivery, free homes and reclamation of arid lands; favoured Statehood for New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma; promised reduction of war taxes; declared for an Isthmian Canal and an open door in China; congratulated women on their work in camp and hospital; reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine; approved the tender of good offices to end the war in South Africa; and promised restoration of order and establishment of self-government in the Philippines, and independence to Cuba."

At this Convention there was for a time some little doubt about who would receive the nomination for the Vice-Presidency; however, all doubt vanished when the name of Theodore Roosevelt, who was at once a popular hero and an experienced administrator, was brought forward. There was none of the

usual delay in coming to a decision, and there was an entire absence of the tedious balloting that had marked previous conventions. For the first time in the history of the United States, the President and Vice-President were nominated on the first ballot.

Under the guidance of Senator Hanna President McKinley decided to adopt the tactics during the campaign, which he had adopted four years before,—to remain quietly at his home in Canton during the heat of the fight. His record was before the nation, he was now thoroughly known, and on his record and his policy he would stand. Hanna voiced his attitude when he said at the Convention : "Our appeal, and it need not be an appeal—still less a defense—is to sober common sense as against visions ; to what is, and is satisfactory, as against what may be, and may be disastrous; to present prosperity, as against probable panic ; to what has been tried and found true, as against what is untried and likely to be found wanting—in short to the sanity of the nation."

It was otherwise with William J. Bryan, the nominee of the Democratic party. He was a silver-tongued orator ; he knew that his vigorous speech-making four years before had won him many votes, and so he once more took to the stump. He could not altogether drop the Free Silver movement—the Western influence was too strong for that,—but he concentrated himself on criticising the government's imperial policy, endeavouring to gain the alien votes by championing the cause of the Boers, and particularly by blaming the administration for the rapid growth of trusts and combines. The nation, however, was too sane to reject a tried man and proved, for one who was untried and who was guilty of considerable extravagance of speech. It listened with a great

deal of pleasure to his rhetorical harangues, but gave a substantial majority at the election to President McKinley. The Republicans carried twenty-eight States with 219 electoral votes, and had besides a fair majority of the popular vote.

President McKinley was to see the nineteenth century out and the twentieth century in. During the hundred years which had just passed his country had made greater progress than any other country in the world. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it had a population of but little over 5,000,000, it had now over 76,000,000. It was, as Senator Hoar said, "by far the richest country in the world." It was richer than any of the great Powers, and there was within its borders an intellectual life and activity that excelled anything on the European continent,—not that its higher educational institutions were superior to the institutions of Germany and England, but the wide diffusion of learning made intellectual life general, whereas in Europe, for the most part, it was confined to the upper and the well-to-do-classes. The outlook for the twentieth century was even broader than it had been in the past, and no better man could have been selected to open the century than William McKinley. He was a great opportunist, watching the tide of time and going with the current.

Shortly after his inauguration he decided to make an extended tour through the nation. His country was rich, prosperous and happy, but it was not the unit he would like to see it. There was still a wall of prejudice existing between North and South, and the hope of his life was that he might see this wall broken down. During his first term he had seized every opportunity to create a spirit of friendship

between the North and South. His words on the famous battle-field of Antietam are characteristic of many of his speeches :

" Standing here to-day," he said, " one reflection only has crowded my mind—the difference between this scene and that of thirty-eight years ago. Then the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the grey greeted each other with shot and shell, and visited death upon their respective ranks. We meet, after all these intervening years, with but one sentiment—that of loyalty to the government of the United States, love of our flag and our free institutions, and determined, men of the North and men of the South, to make any sacrifice for the honour and purity of the American nation."

The war in Cuba and the Philippines had done much to bring about a more friendly feeling, but it was largely for the purpose of making this feeling permanent that the President decided to open his second term by an extended tour through the South and on to the Pacific. It was a pleasure trip, but a pleasure trip in the highest sense of the word, on which he set out from Washington on April 29. The spirit that animated him is seen in his speech delivered at Memphis the day after he left the capital.

" What a mighty, resistless power for good is a nation of free men ! It makes for peace and prestige, for progress and liberty. It conserves the rights of the people and strengthens the pillars of the government, and is a fulfilment of that more perfect union for which our revolutionary fathers strove, and for which the Constitution was made. No citizen of the Republic rejoices more than I do at this happy state, and none will do more within his sphere to continue

and strengthen it. Our past has gone into history. No brighter one adorns the annals of mankind. Our task is for the future. We leave the old century behind us, holding on to its achievements and cherishing its memories, and turn with hope to the new, with its opportunities and obligations. These we must meet, men of the South, men of the North, with high purpose and resolution. Without internal troubles to distract us or jealousies to disturb our judgment, we will solve the problems which confront us untrammelled by the past, and wisely and courageously pursue a policy of right and justice in all things, making the future, under God, even more glorious that the past."

His journey through the South and to the Pacific was a veritable triumph, but it was suddenly brought to a termination when the Presidential party reached San Francisco by the serious illness of Mrs. McKinley. For years the President's wife had been an invalid, and one of the finest traits in her husband's character was the tenderness with which he had waited upon her. Her life was for a time despaired of, but fortunately after a somewhat protracted illness she recovered.

In the meantime the President returned to Washington to face the great questions that were before the country. The Philippine question was less serious than it had been in 1900, owing to the capture of Aguinaldo by General Funston, and the difficulties with regard to the reconstruction of Cuba were rapidly vanishing. Perhaps the most serious thing attracting the President's attention was the rapid growth of the trusts. The billion dollar steel trust with its far reaching influences could not but make the ruler of any country take thought for the future.

However, he faced all questions cheerfully ; of one thing the nation could be sure he would endeavor to do his duty by the people.

The summer rapidly drew to a close with continued and increasing prosperity. The factories were producing for a ready market, the fields were heavy with grain, the whole land was rejoicing. The great Pan-American Exposition was being held in Buffalo, and in September a President's Day was appointed, and the President to encourage the enterprise of the promoters of the Exposition journeyed to Buffalo, and on September 5, delivered what was in many respects the greatest speech of his life. His address on that day had about it an epigrammatic force, a sincerity that is usually lacking in speeches on such occasions. It was the utterance of a man with lofty ideals, the most Christian ruler that the world has yet seen.

"Expositions," he said, "are the time-keepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise and intellect of the people and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty store-houses of information to the student. Every Exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavour in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts, and even the whims of the people, and recognises the efficacy of high quality and new prices to win their favour. The quest for trade is an incentive to men

of business to devise, invent, improve, and economise in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be .....This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilisation. It has not accomplished everything ; far from it. It has simply done its best ; and without vanity or boastfulness, and recognising the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the Powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will cooperate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity. The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work. The success of art, science, industry, and invention is an international asset, and a common glory. After all, how near one to the other is every part of the world ! Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated people and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are exchanged as never before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and larger trade.....

"Isolation is no longer possible or desirable.

The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom. The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occurring everywhere, and the press foreshadows, with more or less accuracy, the plans and purposes of the nation.....

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steel railroad on the globe; now there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph, now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other, the less occasion is there for misunderstandings, and the stronger the disposition, when we have differences, to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest form for the settlement of international disputes.....

"By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities, is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labour. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established...

"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A

policy of good will and friendly trade relation will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times ; measures of retaliation are not.....

"Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakening, the ambitions fired, and the high achievements that will be wrought through this Exposition? Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict; and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come, not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but, more essential than these, relations of mutual respect, confidence and friendship which will deepen and endure.

"Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness, and peace to all our neighbours, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth."

As this speech is read it is hard to realise that it was uttered by the high priest of protection. It would almost seem that the voice of Cobden and Bright was speaking through his lips. He was, as has already been said, a great opportunist; up to the present he firmly believed that what his country needed for its proper development was high protection, but as he stood before the crowd at Buffalo on the 5th of September, he realised that the time might come within his own life when it would be necessary to break down all tariff walls. His speech, at any rate, was thoroughly cosmopolitan and Christian. It was the utterance of no mere politician, but of a great statesman who by the exigencies of the past two

years had been forced to take a broader outlook, and to consider what place his nation would occupy among the nations of the world. Leader he would be or nothing; and to lead properly his policy must be based on righteousness and brotherhood.

This speech created a tremendous sensation and on the following day was eagerly read by millions.

After his address the President took a holiday to Niagara to look with pleasure upon that mighty force which was driving so many of the mills and factories in which he took such pride. After his visit to the Falls he returned to Buffalo and in the Music Hall held a reception. Never was he happier than on this day. It had ever been a pleasure to grasp the hands of his fellow-countrymen, and now hundreds lined past him to grip the hand of the man they had learned to love and reverence. It was in the midst of this rejoicing that the dastardly deed which was to deprive the United States of its last great President was perpetrated. In the crowd was one Leon Czolgosz, a youthful foreigner whose brain and heart had been turned by Anarchist teachings. As the President was reaching forth his hand to welcome him as a citizen of his country he was brutally shot down by the assassin. It is unnecessary to dwell on the horrors of the scene ; no more cowardly and insane murder was ever committed. There was nothing in the President's career that could give the slightest occasion for such a deed, and the only motive could be a desire to strike not the man but the Presidential office.

The heroic character of the President was brought forth at this trying moment. He was suffering intensely from two wounds but his first thought was for his wife. He turned to his Secretary Mr. Cortel-

you, and said, "Be careful about my wife. Do not tell her." Then seeing the crowd apparently about to tear his assassin to pieces, with his love of law and order, and with the dignity of his position before him he exclaimed, "Let no one hurt him."

For eight days he struggled bravely with death, and for a time it seemed as if he had conquered, but it was only for a time. Despite all that the best medical skill in his country could do it was recognised, on September 13, that there was no hope. He saw it himself and with Christian fortitude faced the inevitable; almost welcomed it. His dying words will be treasured among the dying words of the great ones of this earth, and will doubtless help many to bravely face death.

"Good-bye all," he said, "Good-bye! it is God's way. His will be done."

He lingered on for a few hours and on the morning of the 14th passed quietly away. The entire nation North and South, East and West, Democrat and Republican alike mourned for him, and the world mourned with his country. Crowds came to Buffalo to view the spot where he had fallen, and as he lay in state in Washington thousands flocked to look with reverence upon his dead face. The train which bore his body from Washington to his home in Ohio began its journey through the darkness of night but all along the track, at the stations, at the villages, in the towns, in the cities, crowds assembled to catch a glimpse of the train that bore him to his last resting place. But in his Canton home was the chief mourning; the greatest son that Ohio had produced had been taken from her in his prime.

Although his life was ended his spirit still worked on and is working. When President Roosevelt said

on taking the oath of office: "In this hour of deep sorrow and terrible national bereavement I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley, for the peace, prosperity, and honour of our beloved country,"— he uttered no idle words.

He is dead, but his ideals live on. He began for his country the great work of civilising the dark places of the earth, and before the twentieth century closes the policy that President McKinley adopted in dealing with Cuba and the Philippines will doubtless be generally adopted by the great Powers.

INDEX.

A.

Aberdeen, Lord, 368.
Adams, Charles Francis, 119.
Adams, John, 48.
Adams, John Quincy, 16.
Akerman, A. T., 242.
Alabama Claims, settlement of, 238, 239.
Alger, General Russell A., 439.
Allen, Lewis F., 331, 332.
Allison, Nancy, 407.
Allison, Senator W. B., 435, 436.
Altgeld, 377.
Alvey, Chief Justice, 372.
Ammen, Admiral Daniel, 183.
Anderson, Major, 76, 114, 254.
Andrate, Minister, 372.
Andrews, Elizabeth, 11.
Anti-war party, 180.
Antietam, battle of, 122, 411.
Appleton, Jane Means, 14.
Appomattox Court House, surrender of Lee at, 137.
Arnold, Benedict, Grant's comment on, 185.
Arthur, President Chester A., 282, 305–325; his birth and education, 305, 306; becomes interested in politics, 307; appointed brigadier-general and later quartermaster-general, 308; engineer-in-chief and inspector-general, 308; appointed collector of customs at the port of New York, 309; removed from this service, 310; nominated for vice-presidency, 311; his election, 313; elevated to presidency on assassination of Garfield, 313, 314; his inaugural address, 315, 316; his cabinet, 317; improvements to the navy, 321; improving Mississippi navigation, 322; postage reforms, 322; resumes practice of law, 325; his death, 325.
Arthur, Rev. William, 305.
Asken, Col. John A., 151, 152.
Atlanta, capture of, 131, 220.

B.

Bailey, Dr., 183, 184.
Ballou, Eliza, 289.
Bancroft, Frederick, 26.
Bass, Lyman K., 333.
Bates, Edward, 114.
Bayard, Thomas F., 356.
Beauregard, General Pierre T., 117, 203, 205, 220.
Beecher, Henry Ward, 148, 352.
Belknap, William W., 242.
Bell, John, 74, 108.
Belmont, capture of, 197.
Bernabe, Señor Polo y, 444.
Berry, 90.
Bidwell, 364.
Big Bethel, battle of, 116.
Birchard, Sardis, 251.
Birchard, Sophia, 249, 250.
Bissell, Wilson S., 333, 364.
Black, Jeremiah S., 65.
Blaine, James G., 276, 289, 297, 298, 300, 325, 350–352, 395, 402, 403, 419.
Blair, Frank P., 237.
Blair, Montgomery, 114.
Bliss, Cornelius N., 439.
Boone, Daniel, 80.
Booth, Wilkes, 144.
Borie, Adolph E., 242.
Boutwell, George S., 242.
Bradley, Justice, 279.
Brady, Judge John R., 314.
Bragg, General, 213.
Breckinridge, John C., 74, 108, 157.
Brewer, Justice David J., 372.
Brewster, Benjamin H., 317.
Bristow, Benjamin H., 243, 276.
Brown, Aaron V., 65.
Bryan, William Jennings, 377, 438, 458.
Buchanan, President James, 4, 18, 25, 26, 43, 48–75, 156; his parentage and birth, 48–50; his education, 52; commences study of law, 52; opinion of the War of 1812, 53; enrols as volunteer, 54; elected to Pennsylvania, House of Representatives, 54; his en-

gagement to Ann C. Coleman, 54; wearies of political life, 54; elected to Congress, 55; succeeded John Randolph as Minister to Russia, 55; Julian Hawthorne's unsympathetic estimate, 56; returns to United States, 56; elected to Senate, 56; in Senate under four presidents 58; retires to "Wheatlands," 59; appointed Minister to England, 59; his return and enthusiastic reception, 60; gains nomination for presidency against strong competition, 62; his election, 63; inaugural address, 63, 64; reply to New Haven Memorial, 67; his record a brilliant one in international affairs, 71; concludes satisfactory treaty with China, 72; endeavors to settle Spanish question, 73; shows himself weak, 75; trouble in the South, 76; last public appearance, 77; his death, 78.
Buchanan, James, 49, 50.
Buckland, Ralph P., 252.
Buckner, General, 201, 202.
Buell, General, 203, 294, 295.
Bull Run, battle of, 117.
Burchard, Dr., 353.
Burnside, 124.
Burr, Aaron, 157.
Burt, Silas W., 311.
Bush, Sarah, 82.
Butler, Benjamin F., 122, 351.

C.

Calhoun, John C., 9.
Cambon, Jules, 450.
Cameron, J. Donald, 243.
Cameron, Simon, 114.
Campbell, Governor, 430.
Campbell, James, 34.
Carlisle, John G., 364.
Carlyle, Thomas, 1, 8.
Carnifex Ferry, battle of, 256.
Carroll, General S. S., 415.
Cass, Lewis, 25, 26, 61, 65.
Castle Pinckney, garrison withdrawn from, 76.
Cauldwell, Zeneas, 14.
Cedar Creek, battle of, 220, 261.
Champion's Hill, battle of, 211.
Chandler, William E., 317.
Chapultepec, battle of, 24, 190.
Chase, Salmon P., 107, 113, 114, 109, 253.
Chattanooga, battle of, 212, 213.
Churubusco, battle of, 23.
Chickamauga, battle of, 212, 296.
City of Mexico, capture of, 24.
Civil War, 78–140.
Clay, Henry, 9, 57, 98.
Clayton, John M., 57.
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 42, 43, 59, 72.
Cleveland, Aaron, 327.
Cleveland, Lewis Frederick, 333.
Cleveland, President Grover, 7, 326–378; his birth, 327; his school life and early training, 329–332; commences study of law, 332; appointed assistant district-attorney, 332; selected as Democratic candidate for office of district-attorney, 333; elected mayor of Buffalo, 334; denounces corrupt methods of conducting business, 335; nominated by Democrats for office of governor of New York State, 340–342; his election, 342; unanimously nominated for presidency, 350; his election, 353; his inaugural address, 354–356; his cabinet, 356; his marriage, 358; vetoes many pension bills, 358; visits the South and West, 358; utterance on tariff question, 359; defeated for presidency by General Harrison, 362–364; again successful for presidential honors, 364; his cabinet, 364; deals with Cuban trouble, 366, 367; Venezuelan boundary question, 367–372; succeeds in having the Sherman Act repealed, 374; loses nomination for presidency to William J. Bryan, 377.
Cleveland, Moses, 328.
Cleveland, Richard Cecil, 333.
Cleveland, Richard Falley, 328.
Cleveland, William, 327, 329, 330.
Cobb, Howell, 65.
Cold Harbour, repulse at, 129, 219.
Coleman, Ann C., 54.
Collins, Justice, 372.
Confederate States formed, 109.
Conkling, Roscoe, 247, 276, 299, 300, 313.
Contreras, battle of, 23, 24.
Conway, Moncure D., 253.
Corinth, battle of, 207–209.
Cornell, Alonzo B., 282.
Cortelyou, Secretary, 466, 467.
Corwin, Minister, 133.
Coudert, Frederick R., 372.
Covode Committee, 73.
Cox, Jacob D., 242.
Crampton, 49.
Creswell, John A., 242, 243.
Crittenden Compromise, 76.
Cromwell, 179.
Crook, General, 261, 263.
Culver, Erastus D., 306.
Curtis, George William, 352.
Cushing, Caleb, 34.
Czolgosz, Leon, 466.

D.

Davis, Jefferson, 34, 37, 77, 109, 137, 213.
Davis, Judge, 279.
Day, William R., 439.
Delano, Columbus, 243.
Denby, Colonel Charles, 452.
Dennison, Governor William, 114, 150, 257, 294.
Dent, Colonel, 188.
Dent, Julia, 188, 189, 192.
Depew, Chauncey M., 395.
Devens, Charles, 281.
Dewey, Admiral, 449, 452.
Dimmock, Mrs. Mary Scott Lord, 405.
Dingley, Nelson, 441.
Dobbin, James C., 34.
Dole, President, 366.
Donelson, Fort, capture of, 120, 198, 192.
Douglas, Stephen A., 25, 26, 35-37, 41, 46, 61, 74, 96, 102, 108, 108, 113.
Duval, General, 414.

E.

Early, 230, 261, 262, 263.
Elgin, Lord, 45.
Endicott, William, 356.
Ericsson, 121.
Evarts, William M., 280.
Ewing, Thomas, 253.

F.

Farragut, Admiral, 121, 122, 216.
Fessenden, William P., 114.
Fifteenth Amendment, passage of, 238.
Fillmore, Millard, 9, 27, 62.
Finch, Judge Sherman, 251.
Fish, Hamilton, 242.
Fishback, W. P., 383.
Fisher's Hill, battle of, 261.
Five Forks, battle of, 137.
Flower, Roswell B., 340.
Floyd, General John B., 65, 75, 115, 199-201.
Folger, Charles J., 317, 340.
Folsom, Miss Frances, 358.
Folsom, Oscar, 358.
Foote, Commodore, 200.
Foraker, Senator Joseph B., 435, 436.
Forey, General, 120.
Fourteen Mile Creek, battle of, 211.
Francis, David R., 365.
Franklin, Benjamin, 48.
Fredericksburg, battle of, 125.
Freedman's Bureau Bill, 172.
Frelinghuysen, Frederick T., 317.
Frémont, General John C., 62, 63, 123, 130, 253.
Frye, William P., 276.
Fugitive Slave Laws, 59.
Fuller, Chief Justice, 372.

G.

Gage, Lyman J., 439.
Gardner, Horace G., 309.
Garfield, Abraham, 289, 290.
Garfield, President James A., 247, 289-304; his birth and parentage, 289, 290; his education, 291, 292; obtains position as teacher in Hiram College, 293; commences study of law, 293; appoin. d to Senate of Ohio, 293; his military experiences, 294-296; appointed brigadier-general, 295; chief-of-staff and major-general, 296; elected to Congress, 296; the leader of the Republican party in the House, 298; chosen Speaker-elect for Ohio, 298; nominated for presidency and elected, 299; his cabinet, 300; his assassination, 300-302.
Garland, Augustus H., 356.
Garland, General, 190.
Gary, James A., 439.
Geary, Governor, 65.
Gettysburg, battle of, 126, 212.
Gilman, Daniel C., 372.
Gladstone, 116.
Glidden, Judge Charles E., 416.
Granger, General, 295.
Grant, Frederick, 215.
Grant, Jesse, 180, 183.
Grant, Mathew, 178.
Grant, Noah, 179.
Grant, Priscilla, 178.
Grant, Solomon, 179.
Grant, President Ulysses S., 118, 120, 121, 127, 129, 136, 173, 284-304, 309; his parentage, 177-180; goes to West Point, 180, 181, 183, 184; graduated, 187; joins Fourth Infantry, 188; distinguishes himself in Mexican War, 189, 190; married to Julia Dent, 192; army life continues, 192; commences farming, 193; enlists for Civil war, 195; his rapid promotion, 196; splendid successes, 197-227; appointed to command of all Union armies, 215; his meeting with Lee and peace concluded, 222; returns to Washington, 224; reviews troops, 225-227; brings Mexican trouble to a close, 228; his stand with regard to Lee, 229, 230; honored by nation, 230; visits the South, 231; appointed general of the army of the

United States, the title being revived, 232; refuses to go on mission to Mexico, 232; appointed Secretary of State under Johnson, but resigned, 232, 233, 235; defends Sheridan, 233, 234; receives unanimous nomination of Republican convention for presidency, 235; a lover of peace, 236; elected president, 237; reconstruction policy approved, 240; renominated by acclamation, 240; elected, 241; his cabinet, 242, 243; vetoes "Inflation Bill," 245; prosecutes "Whiskey Ring," 245; retires into private life, 246; pilgrimage around the world, 246, 247; writes his memoirs, 248; his death, 248.
Granville, Lord, 368.
Greeley, Horace, 122, 240, 241.
Greeley, Lieut., 323.
Green, John R., 1, 2, 53.
Greenleaf, Professor, 252.
Gresham, Walter Q., 317, 364.
Gr dn, 222.
Griggs, John W., 439.
Guiteau, 300, 301.
Guthrie, James, 84.

H.

Halleck, General, 202, 207, 208, 212.
Hamer, Thomas, L., 180.
Hampton Roads Conference, 133.
Hancock, General, 299.
Hanks, Nancy, 81.
Hanna, Marcus A., 438, 458.
Harmon, Judson, 364.
Harrison, President Benjamin, 362–364, 379–405: his parentage and birth, 379–382; his youth and education, 382–384; his marriage, 384; commences study of law, 384; first political experiences, 385; responds to Lincoln's call for troops and enlists, 386; promoted to be colonel, 387; first engagements, 387, 388; elected reporter of Indiana Supreme Court, 390; nominated by Republicans for governorship of Indiana, but defeated, 392, 393; appointed a member of Mississippi River Commission, 393; refuses place in the Garfield Cabinet, 394; appointed to Senate, 394; nominated for presidency, 395; his election, 399; defeated in candidature for second term, 402; momentous questions dealt with, 400–404; appointed counsel in Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration Commission, 405; his death, 405.
Harrison, Benjamin, sr., 361.
Harrison, Charles, 361.
Harrison, John Scott, 382.
Harrison, Major-general Thomas, 379.
Harrison, William Henry, 9, 58, 3...
Hart, Judge, 253.
Hartley, David, 48.
Hartranft, John F., 276.
Hattan, Frank, 317.
Hawthorne, Julian, 56.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 14.
Hay, John, 439.
Hayes, George, 249.
Hayes, Rutherford, 249–251.
Hayes, President Rutherford B., 246, 249–288; his parentage, 249–251; his early life and education, 251, 252; commences study of law, 252; his marriage, 253; appointed city solicitor for Cincinnatti, takes an interest in political affairs, 253; enlists for the war and is appointed major, 255; rapid promotion follows good services, 255, 256; appointed colonel, 257; acting brigadier-general, 258; assists in capture of John Morgan, 258, 259; rewarded for gallant service, 263; returns to his home, 263, 264; his political career commences, 265; elected to House of Representatives, 266; his attitude towards the South, 266–271; censures President Johnson, 270, 271; selected as Republican candidate for governor, 271; a vigorous campaign, 272; his election, 272; defeated for Congress, 272; elected governor, 274; nominated for presidency, 276; determines upon civil service reform, 277; elected president, 278, 279; inaugural address, 279, 280; his cabinet, 280, 281; withdraws troops from South, 281; efforts at civil service reform, 282, 283; vetoes Chinese immigration bill, 285, 286; retires to his Fremont home, 287.
Henderson, Colonel Thomas, 151.
Hendrick, Anna, 11.
Henry, Fort, capture of, 120.
Herbert, Hilary A., 364.
Herndon, Ellen Lewis, 325.
Herndon, William H., 85, 95.
Herndon, Commander William Lewis, 325.
Herschell, Lord, 372.
Hiester, Governor, 50.
Hill, Senator, 437.
Hill, D. B., 354.
Hitchcock, Ethan Allen, 439.

Hoar, Senator, 459.
Hoar, E. Rockwood, 242.
Hobson, General, 200.
Hooper, General, 125, 389.
Hopkins, Mark, 293.
Hopkins, 52.
Howe, Timothy O., 317.
Hunt, William H., 300.
Hunter, General, 123.

I.

Ilea, Elijah, 80.
Inflation Bill vetoed, 245.
Irwin, Elizabeth, 382.
Iuka, battle of, 209.

J.

Jackson, battle of, 211.
Jackson, General, 9, 16, 17, 58, 126.
James, Thomas L., 300.
Jay, John, 48.
Jefferson, Thomas, 157.
Jewell, Marshall, 243.
Johnson, General Albert Sidney, 202, 208.
Johnson, President Andrew, 130, 149–176, 229, 232, 270; notified of his accession to office of president, 149, 150; his birth and youth, 151, 152; his marriage, 152; chosen alderman for Grenville, 153; elected mayor, 153; enters political life, 153; interest in educational matters resulted in his being appointed a trustee of Rhea Academy, 153; elected to State Legislature, 154; sent to State Senate, 154; elected to Lower House, 154, 155; elected to governorship, 155; elected to Senate, 156; appointed military governor of the state, 164; organizes provisional government, 164, 165; chosen candidate for vice-presidency, 166; sworn in as president on assassination of Lincoln, 169; his differences with Congress, 171, 172; resolution for his impeachment, 173; acquittal, 175; returns home, again elected to Senate, 175; his death, 176.
Johnson, General Joseph E., 171, 217, 225.

K.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 34–42.
Keilt, Senator, 75, 76.
Kelley, Judge, 428.
Kelly, Rachel, 180.
Key, David M., 280.
King, William R., 26.
Kirkwood, Samuel J., 300.

L.

Lamar, Lucius Q. C., 356.
Lamont, Daniel S., 364.
Lanborn, Leslie L., 418.
Lee, General Robert E., 118, 122, 129, 134, 142, 170, 190, 217, 221, 222, 223, 229.
Lemmon, Jonathan, 306.
Lincoln, Abraham, 80.
Lincoln, President Abraham, 6, 7, 68, 77, 79–148, 149, 154, 157, 166, 177, 210, 211, 217, 224, 253; his parentage, 79–82; his youth, 82; trip down the Mississippi, 87; military experience in the Black Hawk war, 88; elected to Legislature, 90; again elected in 1836, 92; extravagant legislation, 93; resolutions on subject of domestic slavery, 94; elected to Legislature, 96; resumes practice of law, 97; married to Mary Todd, 97; nominated for Congress, and elected, 98; joint meetings with Stephen A. Douglas, 102, 103; nominated for presidency by Republican convention in Chicago, 107; elected president, 108; secession of Southern States and formation of Confederate States of America, 109; farewell to Springfield, 109; inauguration, 112; his cabinet, 113, 114; Civil war breaks out and Fort Sumter surrenders, 115; call issued for men, 115; early Northern reverses, 116, 117; complications with European powers averted, 119, 120; issues proclamation declaring slaves to be freed, 124; refuses Louis Napoleon's offer to mediate, 125; dedicated burial ground at Gettysburg, renominated for the presidency, 130; successes of Northern troops, 131; elected president, 131; efforts to bring about peace, 132; second inaugural address, 134–136; war terminates, 137; his last great speech, 137–141; his assassination, 141–146; his funeral, 146.
Lincoln, John, 80.
Lincoln, Robert T., 300, 317, 428.
Lincoln, Thomas, 80–82.
Logan, Stephen P., 95.
Lôme, Dupuy de, 444.
Long, John D., 439.

Mc.

MacVeagh, Wayne, 300.
McCardle, Eliza, 152.
McClellan, General George B., 118, 121, 122, 124, 130.
McClelland, Robert, 34.
McCrary, George W., 280.
McCulloch, Hugh, 150, 317.
McDowell, General Irwin, 117.
McKenna, Joseph, 439.
McKinley, David, 407.
McKinley, James, 407.
McKinley, Mrs., 461.
McKinley, President William, 7, 255, 363, 395, 406–468; his birth and parentage, 407, 408; his training, 408; enlists as volunteer, 409; his military experience, 409–415; appointed commissary-sergeant, 410; first lieutenant, 413; captain, 414; brevet-major, 415; commences study of law, 416; elected district attorney, 416; his marriage, 417; elected member of Congress, 418; his career there, 420; his utterance on the money question, 421–423; his views on the tariff, 423, 424; refuses nomination for presidency, 426, 427; defeated in Congressional election of 1890, 429; elected governor of the state, 429, 430; takes stand against free trade and free silver, 430; adversity in business, 431, 432; receives nomination for presidency, 434–437; opposed by William J. Bryan, 437, 438; his inaugural address, 440, 441; Dingley Bill introduced, 441–443; the Cuban trouble, 443; destruction of the "Maine," 445; Spanish-American war declared, 447; progress of the war, 449, 450; peace arranged, 450, 451; Samoan trouble, 453; nominated for second term and elected, 458, 459; his visit to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo and speech there, 462–465; his assassination, 466, 467.
McKinley, William, sr., 407.
McVicar, Deacon, 329.

M.

Manning, Daniel, 341, 356.
Marcy, William L., 25, 26, 34, 45.
Marshall, General Humphrey, 294, 295.
Mason, John G., 43, 119.
Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, 133, 228.
Meade, General, 126, 219.
"Merrimac," the, 121.
Merritt, Edwin A., 310.
Mexican War, the, 21–24.
Middle Creek, battle of, 295.
Miles, General, 450.
Missionary Ridge, battle of, 127.
Missouri Compromise, 33.
Mobile, fall of, 224, 225.
Molino del Rey, battle of, 24, 190.
"Monitor," the, 121.
Monroe Doctrine, 42, 59.
Monroe Fortress, conflict at, 132.
Monterey, attack on, 190.
Morgan, Edwin D., 308, 317.
Morgan, John, 258-260.
Morrill, Lot M., 243.
Morton, J. Sterling, 364.
Morton, Governor Levi P., 395, 435, 436.
Morton, Governor Oliver P., 276, 383, 386.
Moultrie, garrison withdrawn from, 76.

N.

Napoleon, Louis, 120, 126.
Neal, Anne, 328.
Nelson, General, 203, 204.
New Haven Memorial, 66.
New Orleans entered, 122.
Noyes, General, 276.

O.

Offut, Denton, 88.
Olney, Richard, 364, 369, 370.
Opequan, battle of, 261, 262.
Ord, General, 222.
Orth, Godlove S., 392.
"Ostend Letter," 43.
Otis, General, 452.
Owens, Mary S., 91.

P.

Paducah, occupation of, 197.
Paine, Judge Elijah, 306.
Palo Alto, battle of, 190.
Panama Canal, 318.
Parker, Hon. Edward, 15.
Pauncefote, Sir Julian, 372.
Peach Tree Creek, battle of, 388, 389.
Pemberton, General John C., 209 210, 212.
Petersburg, capture of, 137, 220, 221.
Phillips, Wendell, 122.
Pierce, Benjamin, 10, 13.
Pierce, President Franklin, 4, 10–47, 59; new era commences, 2, 4; commercial progress, 6; his ad-

ministration, 9; becomes president, 10; his birth, 12; his training, 13; commences study of law, 15; elected to Legislature and chosen Speaker, 16; elected to Congress, 17; elected to Senate, 18; opposed to anti-slavery, 19; resigns from Senate, 20; appointed district-attorney by President Polk, 21; in Mexican War, 22-24; chosen candidate for presidency by Democratic convention, 26; his election, 28; Buchanan's opinion, 28, 29; his inauguration and address, 32, 33; his cabinet, 34; initial movements of Civil war, 35, 36; signs Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 36; insists on recall of British Minister, 42; reciprocity treaty with Canada, 45; retires, 46; his death, 47.
Pierce-Scott campaign, 4.
Pierrepont, Edwards, 243.
Pillow, General, 199.
Platt, Senator, 313.
Polk, President James K., 9, 21, 22, 59, 155.
Porter, Admiral David D., 210.
Port Gibson, battle of, 211.
Powell, *alias* Payne, 143.
Price, General, 209.
Princeton, capture of, 256.

Q.

Quay, Mathew Stanley, 435.

R.

Randolph, John, 55.
Rathbone, Major Henry R., 145.
Rawlins, John A., 242.
Raymond, battle of, 211.
Reciprocity treaty with Canada, 45.
Reed, Thomas B., 428, 435, 436.
Reeder, Andrew H., 37, 40.
Resaca de la Palma, battle of, 190.
Richardson, William M., 243.
Richmond, evacuation of, 137, 221.
"River Queen," Federal ship, 133.
Robertson, William H., 300, 313.
Robeson, George M., 242.
Rockwell, Mrs. Susannah, 178.
Roosevelt, President Theodore, 348, 457, 467, 468.
Root, Elihu, 439.
Rosecrans, General William S., 209, 212, 255, 296, 409.
Ross, General, 53.
Routledge, Miss Anne, 91.
Rudolph, Miss Lucretia, 291.
Russell, Joshua, 49.

S.

"San Jacinto," sloop, 119.
San Juan question, settlement of, 238, 239.
Santa Anna, General, 23.
Santo Domingo, proposal to annex rejected, 237.
Savannah, capture of, 221.
Saxton, Miss Ida, 417.
Scammon, General, 255, 259.
Schley, Admiral, 323, 449.
Schofield, John M., 242.
Schomburgk, Sir Robert, 367.
Schurmann, J. G., 452.
Schurz, Carl, 281.
Scott, Carolina L., 384.
Scott, Dr. John Witherspoon, 384
Scott, General Winfield, 2, 22, 27-30, 76, 111, 186, 187.
Seward, Hon. William H., 26, 101, 107, 113, 132, 143, 144, 150.
Seymour, Horatio, 237, 308.
Shackelford, General, 260.
Shelby, 151, 152.
Sheldon, General, 295.
Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan's success in, 131.
Sheridan, General Phil, 213, 217, 219, 222, 228, 233, 234, 262, 263.
Sherman, General John, 206, 208, 211, 213, 225, 232, 280, 289, 395, 426, 427, 439.
Shiloh, battle of, 234-237.
Simpson, Hannah, 181.
Slidell, John, 62.
Slocum, General B., 340.
Smith, Caleb B., 114.
Smith, Charles Emory, 439.
Smith, General, 195.
Smith, Goldwin, 27, 126.
Smith, Hoke, 364, 365.
Smoot, J., 92.
Soulé, Pierre, 42.
South Mountain, battle of, 256, 410.
South Carolina, secession of, 76.
Spanish-American War, 447-451.
Sparrow, Thomas, 252.
Speed, James, 114, 150.
Speer, Elizabeth, 49.
Spottsylvania, battle of, 129, 218, 219.
Squatter Sovereignty, 102.
St. John, John P., 351.
Stanton, Hon. Edwin M., 114, 173, 232, 233, 389.
"Star of the West," fired upon, 76.
Stewart, Alexander T., 242.
Stoddard, W. O., 146.
Stone, Melvina, 305.
Story, Judge, 252.
Stuart, John T., 95.
Sullivan, General, 13.
Sumner, Charles, 240.
Sumpter, Fort, surrender of, 115.
Swing, Prof. David, 883.

T.

Taney, Chief Justice, 112.
Taylor, General Zachary, 9, 59, 189.
Teller, Henry M., 317.
Teal, Hon. L. T., 430.
Tenure of Office Bill, 172.
The Big Black, battle of, 211.
"The Long Nine," 93.
The Wilderness, battles of, 129, 218.
Thomas, General George H., 296.
Thomas, Lorenzo, 173.
Thompson, Col. Jeff, 197.
Thompson, Jacob, 65.
Thompson, Richard W., 280.
Thurston, Senator J. M., 435.
Tilden, Samuel J., 277–279.
Tillman, Senator, 437.
Todd, Mary, 97.
Toft, Alphonso, 243.
Tom, John, 49.
Toucey, Isaac, 65.
Townsend, Hon. Ingram, 330.
"Trent," steamship, 119.
Turpee, Hon. David, 394.
Tyler, John, 58.
Tyner, James M., 243.

U.

Usher, John P., 114, 159.

V.

Valencia, General, 23.
Vallandigham, 15, 16.
Van Buren, Martin, 9, 58, 154.
Vanderpool, J. K., 333.
Van Dorn, General, 209.
Vicksburg, fall of, 126, 209–212.
Vilas, William F., 356.

W.

Waite, Chief-Justice, 314.
Walker, R. J., 65.
Walker, Robert L., 431, 432.
Wallace, General, 204.
Wallace, William, 385.
Washburne, Hon. Elihu B., 196, 242.
Washington, capture of, 53.
Washington, George, 177.
Weaver, General James B., 364, 403.
Webb, Dr. James, 253.
Webb, Miss Lucy W., 253.
Webster-Ashburton treaty, 58.
Webster, Daniel, 9, 27, 57.
Welles, Gideon, 114, 150.
Weyler, General, 443, 444.
"Whiskey Ring" prosecuted, 245.
White, Andrew D., 372.
Whitman, Walt, 117, 147.
Whitney, William C., 356.
Wilkes, Captain, 119.
Wilkins, Senator, 56.
Williams, George H., 243.
Wilson, James, 439.
Wilson, William L., 364, 375.
Winchester, battle of, 220, 261.
Windom, Secretary William, 300, 317.
Wise, 62.
Wolcott, Senator, 456.
Woodbury, Hon. Levi, 15.
Woodford, General, 445, 446.
Worcester, Prof. Dean C., 452.

Y.

Yates, Governor, 195.